

SOCIAL FORCES

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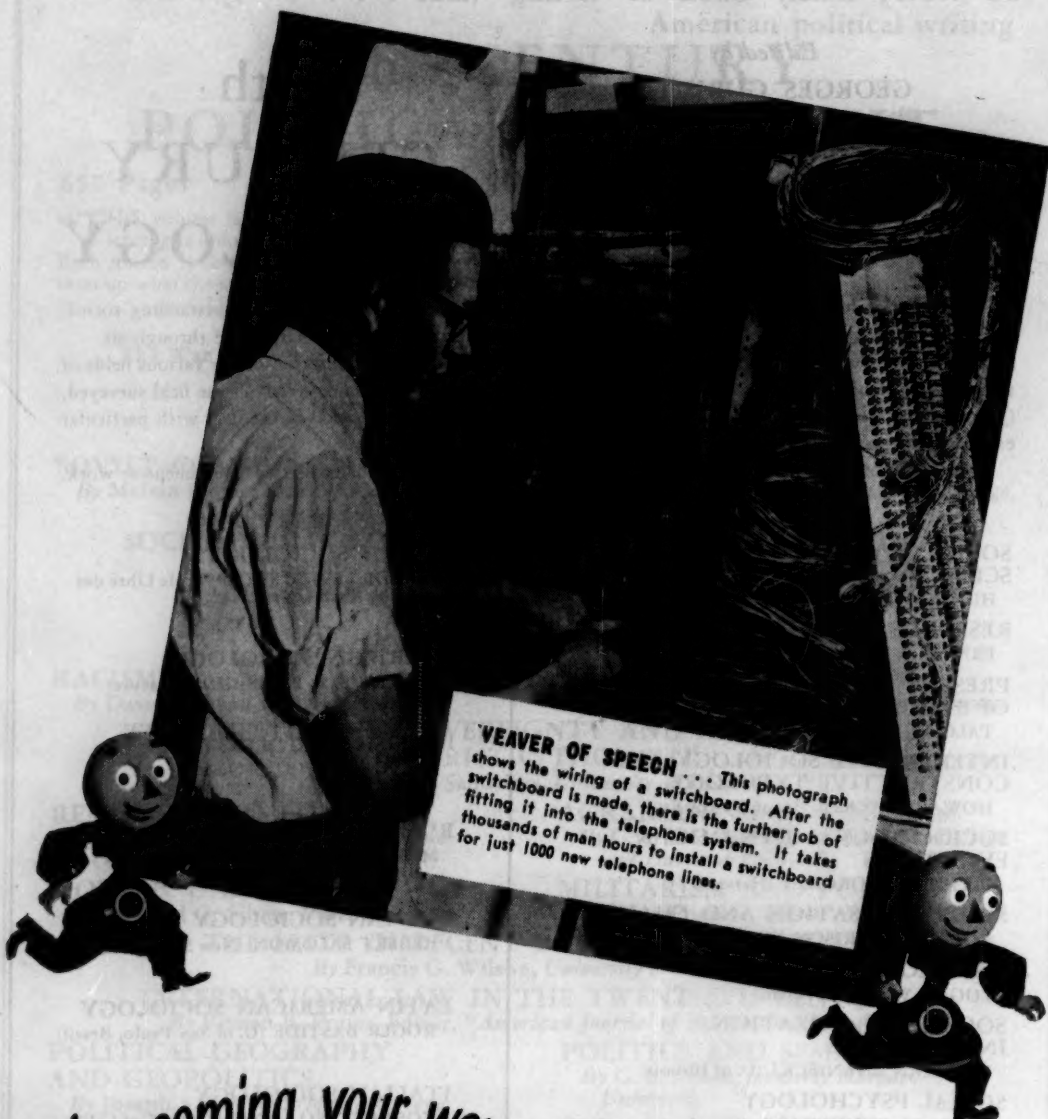
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SOCIAL FORCES

May, 1946

INVENTIONS OF LOCAL TRANSPORTATION AND THE PATTERNS OF CITIES

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

THE air bomber brings the destruction of war to civilians. No longer are the casualties of war confined to combat units. But it is to the cities and not the open country that death is brought by these murderous missiles dropping from the sky. The former cities of Germany laid waste by bombing are a shocking sight as reported by returning visitors.

As one contemplates these ruins, it is easy to observe that if there were no cities there would be no such destruction. If people did not live so close together, the devastation would be less. Why not then spread out our cities and scatter our urban population? Thus modern warfare emphasizes the logical proposal to decentralize our cities.

BOMBS AND URBAN DISPERSAL

The atom bomb and the rocket which can travel across the Atlantic Ocean or the Arctic in 15 minutes emphasize the danger to our urban civilian population in another war. One atom bomb of the present type destroys an area of about ten square miles. Twenty such bombs could annihilate the city of Chicago. But the bomb will not remain at its present destructive power. Inventions evolve. Thus the airplane of the Wright Brothers, weighing 750 pounds, has evolved into the Stratocruiser of 135,000 pounds.

This imminent danger to our cities has led to the very sensible proposal to prohibit the manufacture of the atom bomb anywhere in the world. We are in the process of making such an agreement now, which it is hoped will be reached within a period of months. But shall we have security with such an agreement? Ten years after the various nations of the world signed the Pact of Paris not to have recourse to war the world was in

flames. The League of Nations was of no avail. So we may be ruined by atom bombs in another war even though our future enemies sign an agreement not to employ this weapon. Furthermore, though the atom bomb was not used our cities could be destroyed by the TNT bombs, which are likely to be more destructive in the next world war, if there is one, than in the last one.

We really ought then, it would seem, to break up our cities over, say, 50,000 inhabitants, 200 of them, into 1000 cities of 50,000 each. The task is so huge and the obstacles, financial, political, economic and social, so great that we shall not do so, despite the fact that not doing so could mean the loss of 40,000,000 civilians in another world war. In considering such a plan of action, however, it is well to note that social action which is in accord with social trends is more likely to succeed than planning in opposition to trends.

Now, the trends in the distribution of cities is one of dispersal. Indeed, a century or two hence the urban population may, by wholly natural processes, be spaced in such a way as to afford protection from bombing. Thus the placement and size of urban communities a century hence may be what we would like to have within the next five or ten years to escape the bombing of the next world war.

In considering these trends, the influence of transportation inventions seems to be the determinant of the distribution of cities. Particularly have the inventions of local transportation been the cause of the patterns of cities taking the shape they have assumed. Students of human ecology have not given adequate recognition to the inventions of local transportation. In the study of social change and of the impact of technology on

society a very interesting chapter is the influence of the inventions of local transportation on cities. The singling out of this influence may enable us to speed the natural trends in urban dispersal and to secure a measure of protection from bombing that we would not otherwise obtain so soon.

RAILROADS AND CITIES

We have been living in cities only about a century and a half. There were a few cities before then, even in ancient times, but the proportion of the total population living in them must have been very small. Cities, as we know them today, are the creation of the railroad and the factory. They grew up at the junction points of railroads or of railroads and waterways. In them were stores and factories; and, of course, the places of work of those who service the employees of the sellers and manufacturers.

The distribution of residences was determined by the proximity to places of work. In the early cities the only methods of local transportation were based on muscle, except in a few cities like Venice. Donkeys, oxen, and horses were not adequate, hence many workers and shoppers walked. Thus houses were crowded close together. Often the occupants were piled on top of each other in buildings of many stories. The pattern of cities was one of congestion.

THE STREETCAR

The situation was changed with better local transportation. The first electric streetcar was run in 1886. Gradually this faster method replaced the horse-drawn bus and the few horse-drawn rail cars that were found in occasional cities. The streetcar enabled people to live further from their places of work.

However, the effect of the streetcar was not to scatter very much the existing residences of a city. Rather it enabled more people to live in a city, to work in the factories, and to market at the stores. For city populations were growing and needing more or larger stores and factories. Larger establishments were economical and survived. So cities grew in population, and new houses were added to the periphery. Cities continued to be congested, for it was necessary that the stores and factories be near the transportation terminals.

In the course of time, the electric streetcar became faster. It connected towns. The existence of the interurban electric line enabled inhabitants

of nearby small towns to work and to shop in the big city. The growth of suburbs was facilitated by local steam lines, too. As more people worked or traded in the city, the residents who serviced them, together with their families, increased the size of cities still further.

THE AUTOMOBILE

Then came the gasoline driven vehicle, the most important invention yet made for local transportation. The private automobile for the individual family was very fast and permitted the owner to live a considerable distance from his place of work and from the market. The automobile bus served the same purpose and was more flexible in its operation than the streetcar. Cities thus took the pattern of a starfish. The urban population strung out along highways and did not fill up the land between the highways, as the radius of the city became longer. They did not string out evenly, though, for people must live around stores, schools, motion picture theatres, etc. So the little clusters of population, to change the simile, were strung out like beads on a string.

This pattern idealizes the structure of the economic city; not necessarily the political city. The political city is a matter of boundary lines drawn by legislative bodies, which are not in recent years identical with economic lines. The political lines lag behind the economic ones.

THE METROPOLITAN AREA

The outline of this economic urban area is not as compact in design as the shell of a starfish. It is rather as if the prongs of the shell of a starfish were somewhat shattered and broken and the fragments scattered close by. All this area is now customarily called the metropolitan area. The economic city then under the impact of the modern local transportation has become the metropolitan area. The metropolitan area of the automobile age is quite different in shape from the city of the railroad era.

POPULATION DENSITY

The "economic city" of the automobile age is, as a whole, less closely packed with houses than was the city of the railroad era. So it may be argued that the urban population has been becoming more scattered for some time, particularly since the automobile and, perhaps, since the electric streetcar. The density of population is less for the whole

economic city. There are more open spaces. Some economic cities have many farms within their borders.

But while the modern economic city as a whole is less densely packed than the city was before the automobile and streetcar, such is not the case with the original area at the center. These earlier cities which depended on muscle for transportation were shaped more like the shell of a clam than the shell of a starfish. The scattering occurs not at the center of the pattern but at some distances out from the center. The center then is no more dispersed than it was before the automobile.

DENSE CITY CENTERS

The reason why the original city remains congested is due in part to the slowness of buildings

mental action; even though such action would lead to wider streets, more parks, more air and sunlight. Action of this type would be governmental, not that of "free enterprise." It would be based on planning and collective direction. Government powers somewhat like those of wartime would be needed. Land values do fall in some parts of a city due to population shifts; but they have not yet fallen very far, not to zero. Though owners do lose, the congestion in buildings remains.

FACTORIES

If the process is viewed from the point of view of factories rather than of residences, a variation is noted. Theoretically, if factories move out of a city to a distant location, then an absolute vacancy may be left. For factories are not as easy to sell

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF A GREAT CITY, BALTIMORE

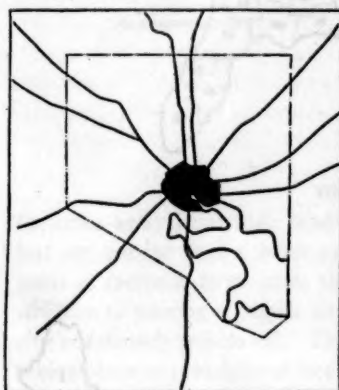


CHART 1



CHART 2



CHART 3

CHART 1. 1850, AFTER THE FIRST RAILROADS
CHART 2. 1900, AFTER THE ELECTRIC STREETCAR
CHART 3. 1936, AFTER THE AUTOMOBILE

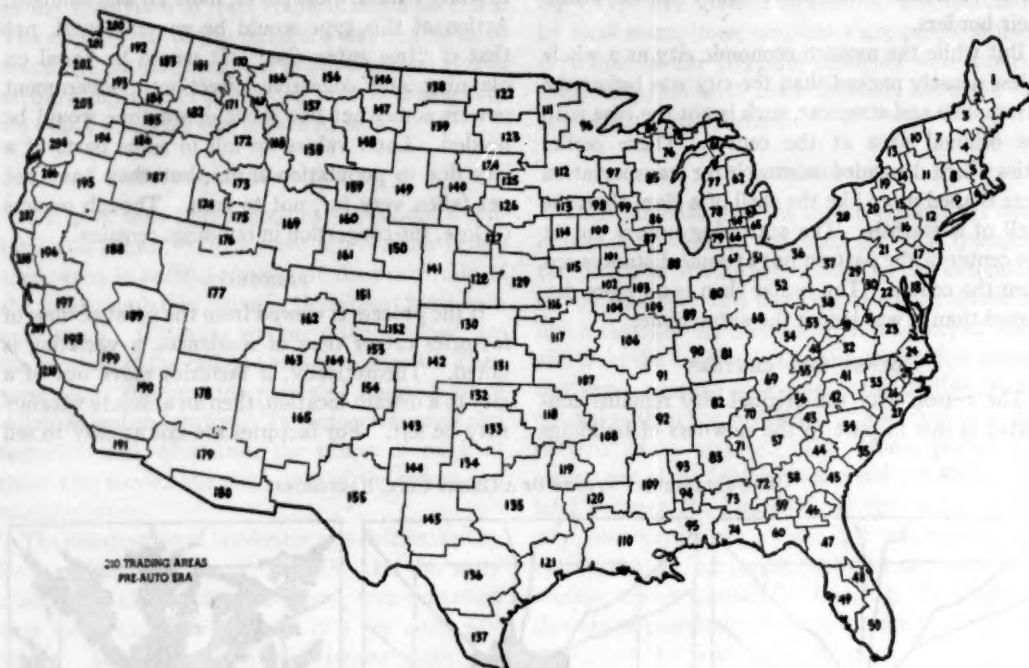
to move. It is easier to break a camp than it is for an owner to move a durable building. Many people have moved from the center out to the suburbs. Their vacant houses have been filled by others. It is a shift of population rather than a depopulation. An owner will sell a building for a loss before he will abandon it and lose all.

To thin out the population as a protection against bombing during wars may then require that the government acquire the land, remove buildings, and prohibit the construction of other buildings thereon. In this case, the cost would be on the taxpayer, rather than a loss occurring to the owner. With land values in cities as high as they are, there has been little thinning out by this type of govern-

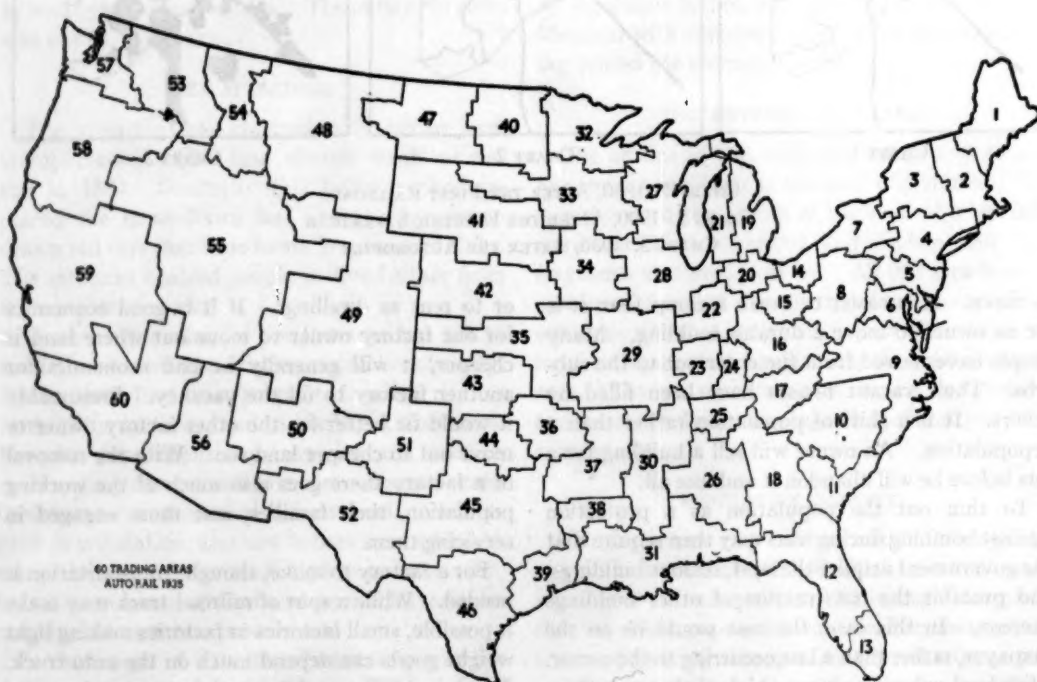
or to rent as dwellings. If it is good economics for one factory owner to move out where land is cheaper, it will generally be bad economics for another factory to fill the vacancy. Presumably it would be better for the other factory owner to move out to cheaper land too. With the removal of a factory there goes also much of the working population, their families, and those engaged in servicing them.

For a factory to move, though, transportation is needed. While a spur of railroad track may make it possible, small factories or factories making light weight goods can depend much on the auto truck. Trucks and automobiles and buses are forms of local transportation which aid the relocation of

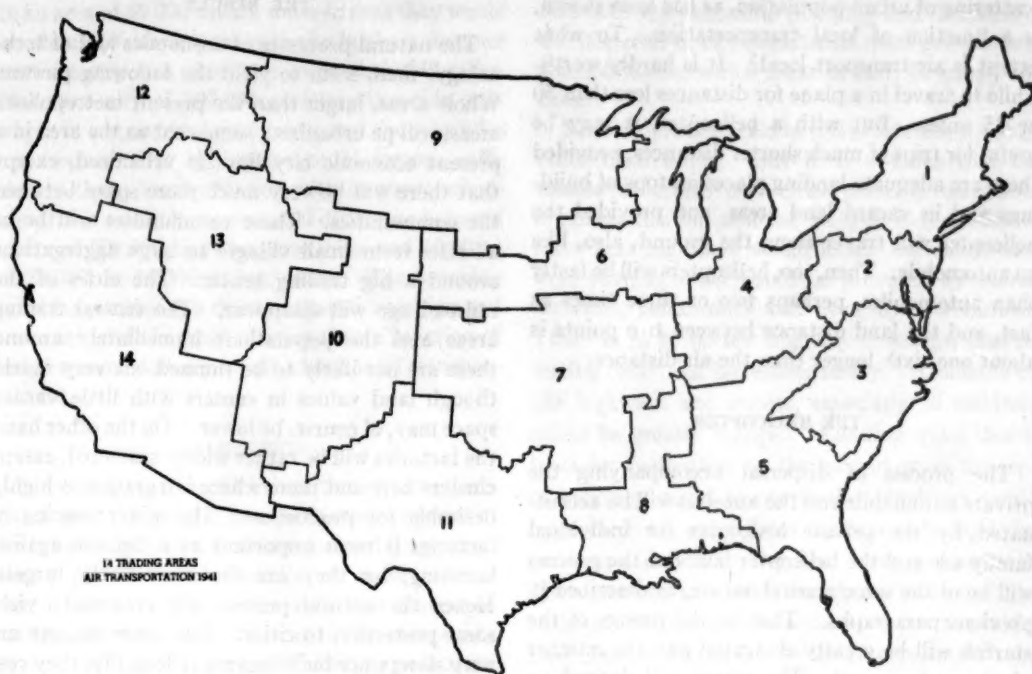
TRADING AREAS AROUND CITIES



MAP 1. IN THE DAYS OF THE HORSE AND BUGGY



MAP 2. IN THE DAYS OF THE AUTOMOBILE



MAP 3. IN THE DAYS OF AIRCRAFT

factories away from high land values and wages but not too far from a labor supply. The movement of factories from cities then does have possibilities of making a particular area well within a city less densely populated. This process has been taking place on principles of free enterprise without governmental planning and direction.

STORES

If the process is viewed from the point of view of stores rather than of factories and residences, it is found also to be different. The success of merchants depends upon shoppers who come to the stores. Hence, subways and elevateds and superhighways are favored by downtown merchants. But many customers do not like to ride crowded subways and elevateds. A surprisingly large number prefer to drive their own automobiles, if the streets are wide enough and if a store has an adequate free parking lot. Hence neighborhood markets, where there is free parking space, are becoming increasingly popular. The downtown market in the center of the city could hold this trade if the streets could be widened and free parking places provided. But the sums of money needed are so large as to be in most cases pro-

hibitive. Hence there are, short of subways, elevateds, and superhighways, tendencies for markets to be dispersed. Still this process does not lead to many vacant lots, which are the desideratum if the problem is that of escaping bombing. But bombing is expected to be directed toward war factories rather than toward stores.

Markets are of various kinds. Food markets can very well be dispersed. But markets for luxury goods such as fine jewelry, fur coats, rare art, etc. need a very large population to support them. As transportation becomes more frequently used these central markets for luxury goods will be made more accessible. Hence the markets in the center of a city are not likely to be diminished very much as the result of any natural process of evolution.

AVIATION

In the future, there will be air transportation. In general, air transportation is, like railroads, for long distances, and hence has the same general effect as railroads. In addition, the larger the city, the more frequent will be the air schedules. Hence air transportation of the type in use today encourages the larger cities to greater growth. The

scattering of urban population, as has been shown, is a function of local transportation. To what extent is air transport local? It is hardly worthwhile to travel in a plane for distances less than 50 or 75 miles. But with a helicopter, it may be useful for trips of much shorter distances, provided there are adequate landing places on tops of buildings and in vacant land areas, and provided the helicopter will travel along the ground, also, like an automobile. Then, too, helicopters will be faster than automobiles, perhaps two or three times as fast, and the land distance between two points is about one-sixth longer than the air distance.

THE HELICOPTER

The process of dispersal accompanying the private automobile and the autobus will be accentuated by the private helicopter for individual family use and the helicopter bus; but the process will be of the same general nature, as described in previous paragraphs. That is, the prongs of the starfish will be greatly elongated and the number of prongs increased. The extent will depend on the extent of use of the helicopter which in turn rests on price and safety. No use of the helicopter comparable to that of the automobile is expected, though, in the visible future. The price will be high for a long time and the roadable helicopter will not be as good a ground vehicle as the automobile.

Hence not so many persons are likely to come into the city by helicopter as by automobile; but they will come from longer distances. Consequently, the trading area around a city will be much larger in the air age than in the automobile age. The trading center of a city will then probably be increased rather than diminished by aircraft.

CARGO PLANES

The actual thinning out of city populations was found to be dependent on the moving outward of factories. Will the airplane encourage factories to be moved away from the cities? The answer depends on the use of cargo planes. At present, planes in the United States carry profitably only the type of goods that go by railroad express or by mail. Bulky, heavy freight of low unit value is not likely to be transported by air. Hence, the influence of aircraft in moving factories is expected to be slight, as far as we can see.

THE RESULT

The natural processes of economics and of technology, then, seem to yield the following picture. Whole areas, larger than the present metropolitan areas, will be urbanized, somewhat as the area in a present economic city limit is urbanized, except that there will be very much more space between the communities. These communities will be of all sizes from small villages to large aggregations around a big trading center. The cities of the railroad age will disappear. The central trading areas and the populations immediately around them are not likely to be thinned out very much, though land values in centers with little vacant space may, of course, be lower. On the other hand the factories will be rather widely scattered, except clusters here and there where integration is highly desirable for production. The wider spacing of factories is most important as a defense against bombing, for they are the most likely targets. Hence the natural process will eventually yield some protection to cities. But these changes are very slow; since buildings are of long life; they cost much money; and we are reluctant to move them or to abandon them.

GOVERNMENTAL DIRECTION

This process of thinning out cities could be speeded greatly if we would agree to submit to governmental authority and to give up some freedom, as we might do under the threat of war. We are not, however, very likely to break up our large cities quickly under governmental direction to any significant degree, because of the cost, the inconvenience, and the loss of advantages inherent in great cities. To discuss how this might be done is beyond the scope of this article. From the foregoing analysis, however, it can be seen that the first and most important step is to get the factories moved out.

An interesting question is how much would be lost if our city populations were so scattered that no city was over 50,000 inhabitants. We would lose the supermarkets of large cities, the ease of making many contacts quickly, and the cultural advantages dependent upon a large population, such as operas, museums, etc. These advantages could still be had even if large cities were broken up into smaller ones, provided local transportation was cheap, fast, and frequent. Thus, a city of 500,000 occupying an area of 100 square miles, might be broken up into 10 cities of 50,000, placed

in an area of 10,000 square miles so that they would be about 50 miles apart with the farthest distance between any two cities not more than 140 miles. Now in a city of 500,000 a citizen can ride anywhere in a streetcar for 10 cents, and the schedules are frequent. If helicopters could furnish sufficiently cheap transportation with frequent schedules, there would be no essential difference between a city of 500,000 on 100 square miles and 10 cities of 50,000 on 10,000 square miles. The breaking up of large cities as a defense against bombing and the spacing of the small cities is thus a function of fast, frequent and, above all, cheap local transportation.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, then, there are two observations. One is that the natural process toward dispersal of the urban population could be speeded by governmental planning and direction so as to provide more protection against the very real danger of bombing in the next world war. The second observation is that the placement of city populations, residences, and places of work is singularly a function of local transportation as cities themselves are the creation of long distance transportation,

and that any successful planning and direction of the dispersal of city population must rest on local transportation, which must be fast, frequent, and cheap.

Nothing has been said in this article about values other than safety. But it is obvious that the chance to create new cities presents marvelous opportunities for civilized ways of living. Six or eight lane highways would lessen the congestion. Free parking space could be provided by stores, factories, restaurants and even by government. There need to be few highway crossings, thus reducing delay and increasing safety. Accidents on the highways and streets, especially to children, might be greatly reduced. Landing space downtown for helicopters on the ground or on the tops of buildings could be provided. Dwellings would have yards big enough for helicopters to land, for gardens, and perhaps for fruit trees and animals. There need be no smoke, and hence more sunlight with health-giving ultra-violet rays available. New dwellings planned by architects could take advantage of many new inventions, such as a glass wall on the south side for solar heat in winter and radiant heat from steam pipes in the walls.

THE IMMEDIATE FAMILY AND THE KINSHIP GROUP: A RESEARCH REPORT

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD AND ELEANOR S. BOLL

The William T. Carter Foundation, University of Pennsylvania

THE distinction between the immediate family and the larger kinship group is drawn increasingly in the current literature on the family. This reflects obviously their growing divergence in contemporary life, and accentuates in turn the facts concerning the relationship between the two. How are family relatives regarded by contemporary youth? How strong is their feeling of identification with the larger kinship group? What is the over-all tone of the relationship between the immediate family and the kinfolk? What problems are created for the immediate family by the coming of relatives, as viewed through the eyes of the younger members of the family? These are but a few of the questions about the relationship between family and kin which need careful study.

This article is a report on a research study which throws light on some of these questions. It is based on information obtained from 68 students at an eastern university, who wrote in free essay style about their families and their relatives. These essays range considerably in length, frankness, and specificity, but they do rather generally convey information bearing upon particular aspects of the relationship between their immediate families and their relatives, as well as indications of the overtones of these relationships. Analyzed and summarized, seven general conclusions stand out which are presented here wholly for the suggestive value they contain.

1. *There is a marked degree of identification with kinfolk as such, regardless of what they are like or how well one has known them previously.* Two

aspects of this are particularly noticeable. First are the differences in allusions to relatives and to friends. Although there are many references to friends, there were no suggestions of identification with friends or neighbors at all comparable to those with any or all relatives. This seems significant in that our friends are of our choosing, but we are born to our kin. Close identification, then, was with the people "inflicted" upon the writers. In cases where the relatives were acceptable people, this was a source of satisfaction and ego-inflation. Many wrote of talented relatives who visited and glamorized their very homes with their presence. On the other hand, those who were immoral, peculiar, faddish, infantile, the shabby, the uncouth, and the uneducated: these are sources of deep shame, personally.

A second aspect of this identification with kinfolk is evidenced in the references to their special treatment. No matter whether they were loved or hated, whether they lived next door or across the ocean, they were a part of the family and had special prerogatives as such. This acceptance of special prerogatives worked in two directions. The relatives felt it their right to drop in unexpectedly; to stay as long as they chose; to walk into the kitchen to find themselves something to eat; to re-arrange the guest room furnishings; to use the personal belongings of the family members; to make comments upon the clothing, household management, behavior and discipline of the family. Operating in the other direction, the family felt compelled, because of kinship, to accept these people and their prerogatives with at least some show of grace. "Must we have Aunt Nancy up here," Mother asks. "I'm afraid so, dear," Father replies. "You forget I am her only nephew, and she likes to come here. She says it relaxes her." One relative was a "boor." "If she had not been a relative she would not have been a guest."

2. *Relatives regard each other as custodians of the family reputation.* Because the reputation of any family member is a part of the composite reputation of the whole family kinship group, relatives often take on voluntarily and sincerely a responsibility for each other in matters of social etiquette, general education, and occupational or professional guidance. Sometimes this partially self-protective obligation is assumed in such a way that it can be called only "interference." But often the gentle, well-meant suggestions and advice of intelligent and mature relatives, who want to see each generation a credit to the family, are

of invaluable help especially to children, but also, sometimes, to adults.

The Howerths "ganged up" on Aunt Bettie in an attempt to cure, in the kindest possible way, an eccentricity which embarrassed them. At table, she never used the service silver, but always helped herself from the serving dishes with her own fork—an unpleasant and regrettable habit. Other aunts enlisted the aid of a nephew. In conspiracy, they decided upon this plan: at dinner time, he was to use his own fork to help himself from the serving platter; he would then be reprimanded for it and taught some Emily Postian principles, thus calling to Aunt Bettie's attention her own weakness in etiquette.

With like intentions, an uncle took in hand his eight-year-old niece who was developing into a rabid little card shark. She bullied her elders into playing with her, concentrated profoundly, and beat them triumphantly. The uncle finally connived to get her into a game at which he himself was an expert. He won and insisted upon playing again and again, thus gentling her into a situation where she could learn to take defeat gracefully and without too much pain.

One girl mentions gratefully the aunt who, when the girl was going through the difficult and doubting period of first exposure to science, patiently helped her to reconcile science and religion. Many girls speak almost with adoration of the young aunts who taught them how to arrange their hair and to dress attractively when they were in the trying stage of gawky early-adolescence. And a number of others, mostly boys, spoke of occupational or professional guidance, from relatives, that shaped their whole future. Often one notices in a youngster a much more striking identity, biologically speaking, to an aunt or uncle than to a parent. This may mean that in terms of like predispositions, that aunt or uncle can be a better counsellor to the child than the parent, however well-meaning. In very close-knit families, children profited greatly from this feeling of custodianship of the entire older generation for the entire younger generation. Greta's story speaks for itself as to her relatives' influence in her life and in her cousins'.

With so large a family there was a variety of talents, professions and interests. From these I reaped many benefits, both large and small.

As I learned how to draw from my uncle, I acquired other things from other people. My aunt provided me with embroidery to work on her visits. As I grew older the family became more than a mere source of

entertainment. Since my parents were the younger members of their respective families, my cousins would often come over with their friends or their problems. My father often acted as liaison between parents and their offspring. No one ever seemed to avoid any subjects because I was present. On one occasion I would hear an aunt or uncle asking that my father persuade one of my cousins to act in a certain way. At another time I would receive the other side of the story. I liked having people come to my parents for advice. After these sessions of settling problems, I saw them in a newer light, although I had taken for granted that most of their ideas were right.

Children in families with relatives like these find their social resources multiplied manifold.

3. *The degree of cohesion of the kinship group varied considerably, and on the basis often of clearly indicated conditions.* At one extreme was the clannishness of Sylvia's family, of whom she writes:

Every one of my father's six brothers and sisters visited us periodically with their own families. My grandmother's eleven brothers and sisters also visited, but less frequently because they had to come from greater distances. One of my grandfather's cousins was a frequent visitor with her three grown up offspring. The house was open to any of them at all times. I never knew what it was like to have dissension or family feuds, and such family disagreements still seem impossible to me whose relatives were such pleasant company.

At the opposite pole was the exclusiveness of the Brown household. The Browns entertained only two relatives, and at the end of a visit remarked, "Thank goodness we have no more relatives within three hundred miles"

Seven conditions are mentioned in the documents as affecting this degree of cohesion. First are the families where some bar to general acceptance—minority or specific culture groups—tended to hold the members closely together. Represented there were Negro, Jewish, and recent immigrant families. They clung to an older pattern of kinship relationships and, perhaps, depended upon it because of their special barriers to the free choice of friends as substitutes.

Second are immigrant families of relatively recent entry where the children, although surrounded by kinfolk, could not speak nor understand the language of their relatives, or elected not to do so as a phase of their "emancipation" from the Old World culture. Certain immediate families cut themselves off completely from all relatives. In these cases the different units of the kinship group had assimilated with varying

degrees, with a resulting disparity in points of view which tended to separate them. Also, there were foreign-born parents who had left most of their relatives in Europe, and thus were barred from kinship membership.

Third was the family turned transient by the father's occupation, and correspondingly strongly kinship conscious. With little opportunity to make lasting friends, relatives were clung to and visited, often over long distances. On the other hand, a number of kinship groups, widely separated from each other in distance, were not very clan-minded. They made their own friends in their respective areas, and felt no special urge to take on kinship contacts or responsibilities.

Families in which the members of separate immediate family units had achieved widely different social, economic, or educational levels, were also not closely knit together.

Large families, large in the sense that the present-day parent generation has many siblings, seemed to have a tendency to remain living fairly close together and to keep a close feeling of kinship. One document reads:

Ours is a large family, my mother coming from a family of nine children, my father from a family of eight. The aunts and uncles, all married, have provided my brother and me with forty-nine cousins. The result, our's being a close family, is that rarely a day has passed without some relative stopping in to visit.

Country families seemed to have a great many visits from their kinfolk. Several of the children in these families, though, sensed that this was a physical unity only: that the kinfolk regarded their homes as resorts and escapes from the city's dirt and noise.

4. *Friction and incombatability between the immediate family units and kinfolk are referred to with marked frequency.* Considered as a whole, the 68 documents bring to light a confusion for the families between the patterns of action and thought toward kinship members established in an era when blood ties were close, and the families' desires, because of certain factors in current American life, to free themselves from the behavior demanded by this pattern. Their conflict may be expressed this way. We think that the privacy of our homes and the sanctity of our personalities should be respected. We want nothing to hamper our individuality of thought and expression. It is our duty to prevent ourselves from being imposed upon and interfered with. But, we feel

that deep sensitivity to blood relationships. Our identification with, and responsibility toward, kinfolk has not been bred out of us. These people do belong to the family in spite of any desires for independence and anonymity, and even when we are tired, rushed, harassed and preoccupied by a thousand interesting activities of our own. From this friction develop many of the irritations appearing in the family situations involving relatives.

How general this irritation is can best be indicated by a summary of the overtones of the relationships between immediate families and kinfolk. This is, by necessity, a quite superficial tabulation, although simplified in one respect by the frequency with which a family's relationship with all of its relatives conforms to the same pattern. That is to say, our material serves to show that most families like, tolerate, or hate their relatives as such, with somewhat less differentiation than one would suppose. Taking the documents, then, one by one, the relationships between family and kinfolk could on the whole be called companionable in 18 cases; generally pleasant in 17; and tolerant in four. In 10 cases, relationships were mostly constrained; in 12, frankly hostile. Seven cases showed such variability in relationship from relative to relative as to constitute a separate group.

It would seem, then, that out of 68 families, 39 enjoyed agreeable relations with their kinfolk, and 29, wholly or partly disagreeable ones. But this is too optimistic a conclusion. Writers of case histories are hampered in truthful revelation by the same feelings of identification with blood-kin that influence their behavior toward them. An expression of frank hostility may be taken pretty nearly at face value, as may "I never knew dissension in my family." But, in the case records placing between these two extremes, one must suspect a cover-up, both in absence of expression and in circumspection of behavior described, of a great many cases of unpleasantness and hostility. Taking this into consideration, one could modestly estimate that relatives were sources of irritation in at least half of the families represented in this study.

Two further conclusions which emerge from our material bear upon this problem of friction within the kinship circle. They constitute the next two sections of this article.

5. *Viewed through the children's eyes, their families derive from two sources, which tend to be different, and often antagonistic.* Despite the present emphasis upon marriage as a relationship between

the contracting partners, operating on their own initiative, the children see their parents as representatives of two kinship groups, between which tensions are frequent in number and often pervasive in significance. Recognition of this is constant in the material analyzed.

Mother's relatives and Father's relatives usually have little in common. Often they are very different kinds of people. And always they are "in-laws" to one of the parents in the family. Children see signs of strained relations between their parents because of this situation. The youngsters themselves form their own individual preferences and think them over.

Mother distinctly disapproves of Father's brother and does not like to have him in the house. She acts coldly when he does come. Her dislike is based upon his being a divorcé, she says. However, the child notices, Mother's own brother, who is cordially welcomed by her, is "separated" from his wife. A strange young man appears at the door and claims cousinship. Father looks him over, estimates disparagingly, and concludes, "He must be one of your relatives, dear." He is; and he proves to be a family nuisance. Mother's parents and her sisters and brothers come to the house with a warm and eager rush. They enliven the household and delight the children. Father's relatives never cause any friction, but the children do not know quite how to treat them because they seem always to be "trying to control their blood pressure." Dad's crude and uneducated European relatives make his son want to better himself educationally. However, they are sincere and kindly people, whereas Mother's university-trained brother "had to marry" a very objectionable girl and led a slovenly life thereafter. A girl philosophizes upon what she believes to be a universality: that though a wife's relatives are welcomed at all times, her husband has to ask permission to have his kinfolk visit.

These small dramas, which may be acted out in any family with visiting relatives, can become more tense when the two sides of the family are of different nationalities or of different religious faiths. Mary, whose father was Italian and whose mother was French, writes:

My mother's two brothers were quite different from my father's brothers, but quite interesting because they travelled so much. They were musicians, worked irregularly, and had no ties. They always brought their music and their instruments; one played the guitar, the other played the clarinet. It seemed to me

that they relaxed better and made more music when my father was not around. We children tried to teach them American songs, and they tried to teach us French songs—and even enjoyed the failure. They always made my mother ignore our bed hour—that is, if my father was not there.

The cases in the present study did not happen to reveal differences in religious faiths, but they did show that even differences of degree in religious fervor within the same faith, and between relatives, create special tensions. One can usually choose friends with beliefs and behavior similar to one's own. But relatives will not change theirs for peace' sake, and too often are imbued with an extraordinary missionary zeal in dealing with kinfolk, perhaps because, in a spirit of old-fashioned kinship, they wish someday to find the whole family group intact in a better world, and to be spared the shame of owning relatives domiciled in a less favorable climate.

The significance of this material for the study of the behavior of children resulting from intercultural marriages is obvious.

6. *Relatives live at different economic and social levels.* Money seems to have been a cause of unhappy relations with kinfolk in many of the families represented in this study. Bitterness sprang from three different sources.

First, siblings who grew up in one home, under like economic conditions, married and prospered unequally. In their visits to each other's homes these differences caused self-consciousness. Children were well aware of Mother's effort to show off her home to its best advantage to a well-groomed Auntie, and of Auntie's habit of looking down her nose at the servantless and untidy house. Said one Auntie, "You have a charming home here, dear, but you should really have someone in to help you." Relatives, with their special prerogatives, can make suggestions like this.

Second, brothers and sisters who had separated to maintain their individual homes became rivals, each with an eye on the holder of the family fortune. A college boy writes vividly, and with scorn, of the scene surrounding the reading of his uncle's will.

Frank's uncle, his father's brother, had lived in his home during the last twelve years of his life. During his lifetime he had built up a sizeable fortune. When he died, all the relatives, down to several-times-removed cousins appeared at Frank's home for the funeral and the reading of the will. There were the distant rela-

tives who had not even known the deceased personally; the cousin named after his uncle "for very obvious financial reasons"; the aunt who assumed that she was now head of the family; the "painted doll," the divorced wife of the deceased who had been supported "on a lavish scale since their divorce"; and the unpretentious uncle who had evoked the wrath of his rich and departed brother by refusing to accept money from him while he was living. Frank watched their transparent attempts to be funereally somber and kindly disposed to each other as bereaved persons, all in a setting of "mingled anticipation and rivalry," until the will was read, revealing that the family fortune had been left to a home for stray dogs.

A third source of difficulties amongst relatives, because of money, comes from the fact that parents do not always come from families of like financial status. Mother's relatives always bring lavish gifts to the children. Father's family is nice, but they come empty-handed, and somehow they do not look the same, either. You are not so proud to show them off to your friends. When they visit at the same time, neither Mother nor Father nor anyone else seems quite comfortable. Jean Trent speaks of difficulties in her family. Her father's parents looked down on her mother, because she was an orphan when she married. The other daughters-in-law and their families could do things for the parents. But Mother was antagonistic toward them too, because they depended upon her husband for financial support and lowered her own little family's income level.

One of the most significant results to children of these deficiencies in financial status evolves from the fact that relatives with some means assume that this gives them a kind of control over their relatives and particularly over the children. When these people have no children of their own to spend for, they are more than ever dangerous to family relations. In this study, there was introduced the wealthy childless aunt who wished to adopt her widowed relative's children because she could offer them a better life. Such a situation stirs the imagination of children and palpitates in their dream-life no matter how much they may not want to leave home. This particular aunt, when denied her desire, made an all-out effort to spoil the children. This put the school-teaching mother at a disadvantage and resulted in stormy scenes between the two. There appeared, also, an aunt and uncle who visited periodically and gave money generously to their niece whose parents, less financially graced, did not believe in

allowances. The girl always had either too much money for her own good, or no money at all. To this day she holds a strong resentment against the parents for permitting such a situation. To complete the picture, there were children roused to loyal defense of a home, when a relative noted its inadequacy; and of a parent whose motherly softness was always resilient against the hard sophistication of a well-off "career Auntie."

The social status of relatives is noted as a fact in itself, apart from income differences. Ordinarily, children were quite proud of the kinfolk who lent distinction to the family. Artists, professional people, and the frequently-mentioned "beautifully groomed" business woman were sources of satisfaction to children living in average servantless homes. They thought a bit better of their family after such a visit. At the other extreme, they fairly writhed with selfconsciousness at the relatives who did not do the family justice. The father of one of the writers bought a relative a decent dress because he was ashamed of her looks. The relative was so insulted that she left the house. Commented the child, "This was exactly what Father hoped would happen."

7. *Relatives are not acceptable equally to all members of a family.* This fact is significant both for marital relations and for child behavior. It is most significant when relatives come to live with the family. Out of the 68 cases, 24 had one or more relatives living in the house permanently, or for long periods, regularly, so that they were considered as members of the immediate family.

The material at hand shows that in some cases the attitudes of family members toward relatives is entirely individual, as in one home already overcrowded, where the rest of the family extended the invitation to relatives cordially and willingly, but the high school son, inconvenienced by the noise and confusion, was sullen in his attitude toward the whole situation. In other instances, the presence of relatives precipitated a horizontal cleavage, as in families of more recent American vintage. Here one finds foreign-born parents welcoming old world relatives, but the children indicating somewhat less enthusiasm. Such cleavages, which

caused children to be sulky and snobbish toward the welcomed guests of their parents, do not improve parent-child relationships.

Sometimes the whole family was irritated by the arrival of a relative fondly accepted by a hospitable Mother, who actually had herself to bear the brunt of most of the inconvenience caused by the visit. Aunt Annie was very acceptable to Mother. In fact Mother turned the house upside down for her.

This shifting about irritated Father for I overheard him say, "To hell with..." but Mother shut him up. Mother suggested that I start calling Aunt Annie 'Precious.' Father said, when he heard about it, "For Christ's sake, why don't you let the boy alone?"

Aunt Annie's winter visits were, generally, in January but never before Christmas. Mother saved presents for her until she came. Each year, Auntie would say, "Oh how lovely everything is. I feel so ashamed that I haven't something for all of you, but I have been so sick all winter that I couldn't get out to do my shopping." Then Mother would say, "Hush, hush, Aunt Annie, as if anyone would expect you to buy for all of us here. Don't be silly." Aunt Annie would wipe her eyes and say to my mother, "I don't know what I would do without you, Adelle." One night when we were going to bed, I overheard Father talking to Grandpa. "It's a hell of a wonder," he said, "that she can't remember the kid." Grandpa replied, "With all her money, she could remember us all."

SUMMARY

The material upon which this article is based has validity only in that it represents free associational references to facts which well up most readily in the minds of persons of university age and status. The total number of documents, 68, seems large enough to have some weight, and the variety of family backgrounds included appears to be marked. Considered as a whole, the attitudes and facts expressed cluster to a marked extent around a few aspects of family-kin relationships, and these have been set forth in summary form. At most, these conclusions are merely tentative; at least, they are indicative of questions which require further study.

COMMUNITY PLANNING FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

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MORE and more we are asking what can we, what should we try to do to conserve and develop our human resources of children and youth. There are many answers offered by different agencies and organizations, public and private, and by different professional groups; and there are also numerous ongoing programs which we are invited to support or actively promote.

This very multiplicity of programs, agencies, professions, and of urgent needs creates one of the major difficulties in most communities where the care, protection, education, treatment, provision of various services and facilities are carried on by so many different organizations, each with its own program, its own staff, its own budget (of needed financial support and of expenditures). The child and youth have, for very good and often necessary professional and technical reasons, been fractionated into a growing number of highly specialized parts, functions, needs, defects, and targets of service. To provide for these specialized purposes effectively, highly trained personnel with a pride in their immediate work and usually a single-minded devotion to their special duties, are employed under conditions permitting relatively free professional activities and discharge of their self-accepted professional responsibilities. Without these conditions, good personnel will not long remain in an organization, as we see in the continual loss of promising staff members that so often takes place in organizations too rigidly administered or tangled up in official red tape and overburdened by purely routine work.

But, it is equally necessary to recognize that effective care, protection, education, treatment, and so on, of children and youth calls for some method of concerted operation among these highly diversified organizations and specialized personnel. We must remember that specialization of structures and functions and activities, as in organisms, can proceed only in so far as there is correlative organization in and through which those specialized parts and organ systems and functions can operate autonomously but with continuous interaction and synchronization with all others. The human body is a beautiful illustration of the highest specialization, which is also most effectively and

wondrously organized, so that, for example, the internal environment of man is kept remarkably stable and balanced by the continuous interaction of specialized organs and ever changing functions, secretions, intakes and eliminations.

It is to be noted that the old idea of a number of separate, discrete parts which are held together and made to collaborate by some mysterious over-all entity or power called organization is misleading. The way each part and function operates within the organic framework is *organization*, since each separate organ or function, while having its autonomy and specialized responsibility, also has its inescapable share in creating organization and maintaining the organized whole by the amount, timing, and way it performs its specialized role in that whole. No single organ or part controls or regiments any other; there is no one all-powerful organ or function established as dictator to rule the others. Biological integration and concerted, balanced organic functioning take place by the continuous intercommunication of nerves and fluids and the rapid adjustment of each part, organ system and physiological process to all the others, as mediated through the brain (which performs the unique function of the integrating center, like an orchestra leader who times and directs the various instruments for playing the common theme).

This biological discussion is not a digression, but a highly relevant illustration of one way to approach the problem of community planning and operation. Organization can be achieved by re-orienting or revising the ideas and practices of each separate agency and profession, so that the specialized activity of each will be conducted with a full and continuous awareness of, and articulation with, the activities of others, thereby bringing organization among these independent agencies and personnel with no sacrifice of real autonomy. Somehow we must strive to create the equivalent of the human brain so that these rich resources of public and private agencies and the new knowledge, professional skills and personal devotion to duty can be orchestrated into a more coherent, a more closely articulated pattern of organized operation.

For this purpose we must critically examine the present arrangement of separate, independent and

often competing, even antagonistic, agencies and organizations which have developed for sponsoring, administering, and financing each of these necessary and diverse activities and services. We must look for opportunities to develop organization in the biological sense, not as an authoritative overall dominating agency or dictator, but by working out methods and procedures for interrelating the many differently trained people and many agencies, institutions and processes into a coherent, reciprocally interacting series of synchronized activities which will more adequately and effectively conserve children and youth.

Instead of the usual exhortations and scolding, there is need for imaginative exploration for ways of sensitizing professional workers to this further function of responsible participation in organization of services. Few, if any, professional schools prepare their students for this; hence the older and more experienced men and women, trained in the established patterns of isolated practice, find it difficult to see how they can participate in organized activities without surrendering their independence. Hence they "refer" the individual to another specialist and usually make no effort to pool their findings and advice with others. Occasionally an exceptional individual does spontaneously strive to establish communication with others in order to save the patient-client-student from further anxiety and confusion.¹

There have been innumerable attempts to establish coordinating councils and interagency conferences, to integrate, to correlate or otherwise to bring together and focus community agencies and organization. Usually these efforts have been on the higher level of personnel where the chief executives and administrators and leading practitioners in each agency or field have been called together to establish cooperation and integration. This has not been very successful since the representatives of each agency and profession are usually put in the position of maintaining the prestige and privileges of their organization or professional group, emphasizing their unique and different functions, needs and rights. Not much, therefore, has been gained by these efforts, and immense amounts of time and energy have been wasted by repeated conferences and meetings.

Some new approach is necessary and may be

¹ Cf. Dr. Henry B. Richardson, *Patients Have Families* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1945).

found by remembering that specialized agencies and personnel can work together only when confronted with actual individuals and concrete situations in which each can perform their more or less unique skilled services. This points to the desirability of starting, not with agencies and administrative personnel and formulating paper programs of coordination, but beginning with people—actual children and youth who need the attention and care of these diverse organizations and trained personnel—or starting with a specific situation in a specified local area where all are needed and all can contribute to its improvement.

Those who want to plan more effectively for children and youth may find some guidance from what has been developed in a teaching hospital where the medical care of each patient is entrusted to one physician but he in turn is expected and required to use all available diagnostic tests and examinations, consultations and technical assistance appropriate for treatment of his patient, such as a large teaching hospital which a medical faculty provides. Here we find individual autonomy and responsibility but in a setting of supporting services and specialized skills that are mobilized and focussed upon individual patients. Moreover, we find that the physician in charge and all his collaborators are held accountable for what they do or fail to do for each patient.

Something of similar nature seems needed to provide for children and youth so that they will not be cared for or served by one agency or professional group which ignores all the other needs and difficulties of the child or youth, and by such unbalanced program often create other serious difficulties. Likewise something should be done to make each agency, public or private, accountable for what it does and fails to do and also for sloppy, etc., work. Too often agencies take up cases, work on them until they get tired or discouraged and then drop them, with no sense of responsibility for seeing that the case is reassigned or kept under scrutiny. This involves immense waste of time and energy to no good purpose and produces the current situation of confused, aimless efforts that we see so often in the work with delinquents.² Accountability is essential to any planned programs and to any organization of activities in a community.

² Cf. Sophia M. Robison, *Can Delinquency Be Measured?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

If we can focus upon individual children and youth, in their family and school and neighborhood environments, we can then mobilize the knowledge, skills, and resources of the many organizations and professions now available in most communities for that individual child or youth with his many needs and requirements. This would provide the occasion for each agency or profession to do its "stuff," but as part of a concerted effort concerned with the whole individual, not one part or defect. So each different instrument in the orchestra plays when and as indicated by the score, or the different organ systems and functions in the human body operate when and as required by the total organism and its changing needs and continual readjustments.

In each community there is need for some functioning group to provide the over-all staff work, especially what the army calls intelligence service, of collecting all available information about children and youth, their number, by age groups, present condition and needs, location, and so on, and planning the broad strategy of conservation. A systematic scheme for Child Accounting offers one step in this direction and should be made into a continuous service, to help all agencies and professions to see the problem in terms of accurate and adequate records, including reports of what is being done to and for children and youth by public and private organizations. Likewise, Child Accounting should be developed as a way of establishing accountability for what they do or fail to do to and for children and youth.

There is also need for some staff service to bring together knowledge of what, when, and how the task of child and youth conservation can be approached according to accumulating experience elsewhere so that each community can be guided by the knowledge and experience of others. Here is where the nearest college or university, especially state college or state university, might be expected to provide assistance of this kind from its own diversified faculty members. If the state university and the technical staff members of state departments of education, health, mental hygiene, welfare, corrections or custody institutions, of agriculture (for nutrition) and other related departments could form an overall planning staff, then local communities could find the intelligence and consultation services they need for these tasks.

In such an undertaking as here outlined, especial attention must be given to re-education of the lay

boards of institutions and agencies, members of boards of education and health, and so on, in city government and in the many private agencies and institutions, such as hospitals, clinics, child welfare agencies, and so forth, to give them a better understanding of their responsibilities, not merely to their own organizations, but to the larger community needs. Too often "patriotism" for their own organizations becomes "isolationism" which the professional staff also frequently practices as apparently necessary to enjoy board support.

If local community planning for children and youth is to go forward, it will also be necessary to enlist able, experienced people for this novel and difficult enterprise. Today most of the leading citizens are sitting on boards of well established organizations, such as hospitals, welfare organizations and other agencies which have long ago demonstrated their place and function in the community. In consequence, the new and pressing tasks of our generation cannot draw upon the time, energy, and brains needed for wise and skillful guidance, nor do the new programs receive the support of private funds which they must have to explore and experiment toward the new service and the new organizations that must be created to meet today's needs, just as hospitals, social service organizations, and so on, were the pioneering agencies of yesterday.

It is not so difficult to get leading men and women to become trustees and directors and to raise funds for a child guidance clinic, let us say, since such clinics are now recognized as more or less essential. But where to find high quality leadership and private funds to develop mental health programs which through homes, day care, and nursery schools, first grade classes, etc., will begin to reduce or avoid the emotional disturbances and personality problems which a few years later will become full blown "cases."

Likewise, clinics for diagnosis and treatment of defects, handicaps, impairments, etc., in school children and adolescents are frequently approved and often financed by private and public funds, while little support can be found for experimental programs of preventive medicine or health care that seek to keep children growing and developing free from these frequent defects and handicaps.

The foregoing is not said to criticize any one or to suggest that the better recognized and long established agencies and services should be neglected or curtailed. On the contrary, they all are needed on a larger scale than before to cope

with the large load of children and adolescents and families acutely needing these remedial services. But, if we are ever to go forward, to catch up on this ever accumulating load of unnecessary human wastage, we must courageously and cooperatively build the new agencies and services, create the needed intelligence services and "organization" for conserving our human resources in childhood and youth.

This is an opportunity and the responsibility of our time, to utilize the new knowledge of child growth, development, and maturation, the specialized skills of our many professions and service organizations and the existing community resources, such as schools, etc., for a concerted effort to care, rear, nurture, protect, develop, and cherish our children and adolescents.

It is especially important that the design and construction of new buildings, schools, hospitals, health centers, playgrounds, and other public and private structures, be guided by latest knowledge and most recent experiments so that the older and now obsolete single purpose buildings and old style equipment will not be perpetuated. There is a challenging opportunity to build anew by incorporating in buildings what is not known about needs for better health and nutrition, mental hygiene, recreation and creative work (arts and crafts), and promotion of improved human relations. Thus new school buildings and new housing developments could be designed to facilitate this articulation of diverse services and structuralize provisions for this needed "organization" of diverse activities.

We are especially obligated to begin to prepare for the war children, those born since Pearl Harbor, who have suffered from absent fathers, working mothers, and wartime inadequacies of housing, medical care, and the like. These children will start to enter the schools in 1947 and we must prepare the schools, with additional classes and, above all, teachers better prepared to help these war children, with understanding of their personality and emotion difficulties and with school

programs and procedures adjusted to their special needs. In addition, we should provide all possible diagnostic and remedial services to remedy, so far as possible before they enter schools in 1947, the consequences of the neglects and ill treatment these children have experienced.

Likewise, we are obligated to conserve our adolescents who have also suffered from the wartime. They are rapidly shrinking in numbers, and this small group needs much help to achieve health and sanity and to be prepared with understanding and courage to face the growing confusion and disorder of the world, as worthy successors of the the young men and women who were lost, handicapped, or overwhelmed in the war.

Here is an opportunity to create Living War Memorials by establishing funds which will perpetuate the memory of the young men lost in the war by providing facilities and services, especially scholarships and other aid, to conserve and develop youth as the successors to those who were killed in the war. Such living memorials will keep alive their memory more appropriately and effectively than any other way.

All the different community organizations are needed for this enterprise and they too must learn how to pool their personnel and resources in this larger community undertaking. This will call for a large measure of self-disciplined and generous action by each group, to subordinate their loyalty to their own organization for the sake of the joint, collaborative effort they all must make. We must remember that the test, the criterion of what is desirable and necessary and permissible in all this work is the simple question "What will it do to and for the children and youth?"—what do they need and how can we provide for them more effectively and with minimum of confusion, rivalry and damage?

Community planning for conservation of children and youth emerges as the most urgent and most important task that demands all we can muster, but for which we can generously give the best we have because it is the way to preserve our human values and advance our democratic ideals.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF THE GRANDMOTHER

HANS VON HENTIG

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I

IN THE succession of generations grandparents fade out as productive and active constituents¹ of the family group. They become honorary members. Whatever they retain of social power rests on their personal hold and the control of the testator. Poor grandparents must, of course, resign this form of authority. As long as the family is intact in structure and function grandparents live on the fringe of group activities. They stand ready, however, to intervene as first and last aid as soon as the framework of the group is flagging or breaking up. Grandparents, and especially the grandmother, reassume a sociological function the moment a gap has to be filled and missing members of the intermediary generation have to be replaced.

Such rescue action may be necessitated by the departure or disappearance of one of the parents. Some family groups are fragmentary from the beginning,² or even nonexistent.³ To the well known patterns of disintegration, death, desertion, divorce, curative or punitive efforts of society are added. Prisons and asylums confine hundreds of thousands of married men. This compulsory separation of groups is, for obvious reasons, an aggravated form of harm to the family group although requisite to the aims of organized life in common.

Families are continually dissolving; they are incessantly patched up, repaired and rebuilt. There are times in which this process is suddenly intensified. Death demands an increasing toll. Divorce and desertion grow rampant. Tremendous migratory movements rend millions of families asunder. Such is the effect of modern war. It is at the same time the force that revives parent-substitutes and ersatz-educators and providers,

¹ Or actively disturbing members. Family interference (mothers-in-law, etc.) have been stated to have been a factor of family discord in 13 percent of all cases. Ernest R. Mowrer, *Domestic Discord* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 41.

² The unmarried mother and her child.

³ 10 percent of the children cared for by a Children's Society (2671 cases) were children of "unknown parentage." *Proceedings of a Conference Held at Philadelphia, Oct. 13-14, 1915* (Philadelphia, Wm. F. Fall, 1915), p. 168.

the grandparents. Since the length of life is extending we must expect that there will be more grandparents in the future and that their contribution to the survival of the family will be given more heed and study.

Roughly it can be estimated that there are about 11 million active grandmothers in the United States.⁴ A computation has to omit the number of illegitimate grandmothers,⁵ but will consider the childless "grandmothers" that is women, 45-69 years old, married, widowed, or divorced who did not bear children.⁶ In some cases these women may give refuge to distressed grandnieces.

We refrain from entering into the geography of the American grandmother. We refer only to the fact that many more grandmothers live in rural than urban areas,⁷ and that the great cities vary largely in this respect. Boston and New York City, for instance, are outdistanced by Los Angeles, San Francisco and even St. Louis. Boston excels in unmarried white females, whilst San Francisco and Los Angeles are "widow towns," and still more "divorcee cities."⁸ It is, of course, the age distribution which determines the grandmother rate.

Since fewer females are single and fewer of the married women childless the non-white races present a larger proportion of grandmothers. In addition, these racial groups tend to marry

⁴ By this we mean the women, married, widowed, and divorced, 45-69 years of age. Computed from figures in *Population of the United States by Marital Status and Age*, 16th Census of the U. S., 1940. Bulletin of July 8, 1943, p. 3.

⁵ Many disappear from statistical tabulations by marrying the father or other men.

⁶ The proportion of urban wives aged 40 to 49 in 1910 who had borne no children varied from 16.3 percent for unskilled to 19.8 percent for professional classes. Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States* (New York: MacGraw Hill, 1933), p. 287.

⁷ The percentage of single females 45-69 is 9.3 in urban, 5.5 in rural-farm areas. *Population by marital status and age*, p. 3.

⁸ *Marital Status of the White Population for States and Large Cities*, 1940. Bulletin of Nov. 27, 1942, p. 3.

earlier than the white population and their grandmothers will be more brisk and enterprising than those of the white race. Their greater mortality, on the other side, will carry off many of them prematurely.⁹

In speaking of the sociological function of the grandmother we omit those who, by their indigence, inability, or infirmity cannot help, but must be assisted. Those grandparents must furthermore be eliminated who are separated from the younger generations by distance or estrangement. This observation applied to the majority of immigrants. Of the unmarried colored mothers, who came to the attention of social agencies in New York, 34.7 percent were born in foreign countries.¹⁰ The Negro girls coming from the West Indies and other parts of the Western Hemisphere do not differ very much from the Southern Negro; but their family group had been left behind and the child could not be committed to the care of a grandmother or an aunt.¹¹ This was the main reason why the foreign born colored girls were forced to approach relief agencies and thereby slipped into our statistics.

A high economic status substitutes paid help for the voluntary action of the grandmother. Of the 100 professional women, studied by Virginia M. Collier,¹² only 8 depended on the assistance of another member of the family, mostly grandmother or aunt. Community nurseries are rational-looking solutions, perfect from the point of view of hygiene and food, but presenting the emotional handicaps of institutional life.¹³

⁹ Statistics of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company give these rates: per 100,000 white females, 866.9; per 100,000 Negro females, 1475.9. J. H. Lewis: *Biology of the Negro* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942) p. 16.

¹⁰ The study covers the years 1922-23. The rate of foreign-born Negroes in New York City was 20.0 in 1920. Ruth Reed, *Negro Illegitimacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926), p. 49.

¹¹ "My husband's mother is living in Persia." R. Mowrer, *Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord* (New York: American Book Company, 1935), p. 197.

¹² *Marriage and Careers*. A study of one hundred women who are wives, mothers, homemakers, and professional workers (New York: Channel Bookshop, 1926), p. 68.

¹³ See the accident which caused women in war jobs to take away their children from grandmothers. Susan B. Anthony, II, *Out of the Kitchen—Into the War* (New York: Stephen Daye, 1943), p. 122.

II

The number of women in non-agricultural employment increased tremendously in four years of prewar and war production. It was: 10,730,000 in March 1940; 16,440,000 in July 1944.¹⁴ What proportion of this working army consisted of homemakers is impossible to say. The only thing we are told is that according to a War Manpower Commission estimate "during 1942 half a million housewives joined the wage earning ranks."¹⁵ Since employment of colored women increased only by 40 percent in contrast to a 51 percent gain for white women (1940-44)¹⁶ it could be assumed that fewer colored women have been taken away from their homes and their children. But there was a definite shift on the Negro side from the farm to the factory, cutting the proportion of Negro women on farms in half in four years.¹⁷ As factory workers they could not take care of their children and had to ask for the succor of the granny.

However the cohesion of the family and its function as a cooperative unit is under attack by other forces. There were war casualties; in addition industrial production has turned out to be another battlefield. Disabling injuries will keep the mother for a longer or shorter time away from her children. The figures are high:

Disabling injuries in industrial production 1941-1944¹⁸

1941	2,180,000
1942	2,267,700
1943	2,414,000
1944	2,300,000

War work comes and goes. Yet there are more permanent causes which disrupt family life, disable the group as an economic and educative unit and call for outside help. Divorce, desertion, and illegitimacy are such emergencies. That the rate of illegitimacy has more than doubled is the experience of social workers. The last official statistics covering the years 1943 show a slight decline, but the reasons are of a technical nature. There is no way of establishing how many illegitimate children are reared by grandmothers.

¹⁴ *Monthly Labor Review* (1944), p. 1234.

¹⁵ Mary Robinson, "Women Workers in Two Wars," *Monthly Labour Review* (1943), p. 652.

¹⁶ *Negro Women War Workers*, Bulletin 205. Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor (1945), p. 18.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (April 1940-April 1944).

¹⁸ *Monthly Labor Review* (1945), pp. 638-39.

We know that 28.4 percent of the children of unmarried colored mothers, examined by Ruth Reed in New York City, lived with "relatives of mother."¹⁹ The rate must be much higher since only mothers who came to the attention of social agencies were registered. Mothers and children who were cared for in some other way, often by grandmothers, remained unnoticed. In contrast, case studies, such as those carried on by Percy Gamble Kammerer,²⁰ Hildegard Kipp,²¹ and others, mention the grandmother again and again although attention was not focussed on the specific issue. T. J. Woofter has reported that about one-third of the families on St. Helena Island, South Carolina were headed by widows, "many of whom, though advanced in years, are caring for several young grandchildren or grandnieces and nephews."²² The reason is not only illegitimacy which is pretty high on the island but mainly desertion and migration of the intermediary generation to the city.

Modern war is hard on grandmothers. However the postwar period had adaptive crises of its own. Divorces and desertions increase; there is a housing shortage; there is the unemployment phase of reconstruction. This is the contracting and redeploying phase of economic as well as of emotional life. Again the grandmother in countless cases stands ready to shelter the divorcee and her children, to receive children and grandchildren in her home when apartments can not be found, or the man is out of work. The lower mobility of the older generation renders her more shock-proof to the contingencies and fortunes of industrial life. The rural habitat of grandmothers is another asset in war and the postwar crisis.

III

Opinions differ widely as to the educational capacities of grandparents, especially the grandmother. Although cases of harsh treatment are on record,²³ most children remember with pleasure the time they lived with grandparents. Children

¹⁹ *Negro Illegitimacy*, p. 106.

²⁰ *The Unmarried Mother* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919), p. 38.

²¹ *Die Unehelichkeit* (Leipzig: Psychologische Situation und Problematik, 1933) p. 124.

²² *Black Yeomanry* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930), p. 91.

²³ Some grandmothers are very rough with the illegitimate children of their daughters. A sense of guilt may be surmised. Kipps, *op cit.*, p. 124.

are sent to stay with the older generation at unfortunate junctures: the war worker is exhausted; the widow's, the divorcee's the unmarried mother's nerves are strained; the wife of the unemployed or the unemployed father is irritable. It has been said that "stability and mental health of the family under present social conditions depend to a considerable degree on father's not being at home too much."²⁴ Since the unemployed can not be asked to stay away from home all the time, the same appeasing effect will be produced by removing the children to the grandmother's home. Families which exhibit a streak of degeneration are often morally still intact in the grandmother generation. The burglar, Marc Benny, describes how his criminal career started when the grandmother died. "Had she lived I might easily have been infected with her rectitude."²⁵

Albeit there will not be an abundance of active educational interference strong pedagogic elements remain: the silent hold of the example, material care, and something negatively wholesome; the absence of strife, conflict, tantalizing defeat, and waning authority. The ascendancy of the grandparents does not depend on industrial efficiency. They are entitled to the retired life they enjoy. They do not belie expectations as does the unmarried mother or the unemployed father.²⁶ They have not lost community status nor family standing. Whatever failures they may be, they are successes in as much as they have survived.

The grandmother enjoys special prestige among the colored people. Slave management by "sterilizing" the man (economically as does extended unemployment) established a matriarchate of the colored woman. Her real efficiency was enhanced by superstitious beliefs. We are told of grand-

²⁴ This is one of the rules given by Dr. George K. Pratt in *Morale*. The mental hygiene of unemployment (New York: National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1933) p. 34.

²⁵ "... And then the grandmother died. It is perhaps significant that my real life should commence with the death of this old lady. She was the most rectitudinous and impressive person I had contact with." Marc Benny, describing the evolution of a burglar in *Low Company* (London: Peter Davies, 1933), p. 14.

²⁶ "Unemployment of the father appears to have a more harmful effect on the child than actual loss of the father, except where such loss is by separation or divorce." R. D. Gillespie, *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1942, p. 83).

mothers who were born to "good luck."²⁷ Their touch made potatoes grow and they were in general demand in planting time. The colored grandmother was depended upon "to ease the pains of childbirth and ward off the dangers of ill luck."²⁸ Her knowledge of the secrets of nature, her permanency among the catastrophies of family life, her traditional role as guardian of orphaned and abandoned children,²⁹ and her weird and mysterious appearance³⁰ predestined her to filling the place of the non-existent or non-functioning mother.

Margaret Mead has depicted the grandmother's part in the group life of the American Indian. As long as there were no books and no professional teachers, grandparents were the depositaries of knowledge and wisdom. Hunting and eternal warfare took the father away for long periods; the Indian woman had not a moment of leisure left between early morning and the late hours of the night, preparing food, dressing hides, and taking care of everyone and everything. The mortality of the adult male was heavy. There were many youthful grandmothers "who devoted much of their abundant knowledge and energy to the care of their grandchildren."³¹ Information was trans-

mitted by the grandparents.³² Since old age was frequently a happy time³³ for Indians these grandmothers were steadied and gentle educators. They longed for companionship³⁴ and enjoyed around the tent a tumultuous crowd of youngsters who vexed and irritated the tired parents.

IV

The respectful awe which surrounds the Indian and the Negro grandmother is reward and incentive. The grandmother of the white race has been, in contrast, the first victim of the disintegrating family. Immigrants leave her behind. The native-born children would think the old people still more old-fashioned,³⁵ out of place, and a laughing-stock than their foreign-born parents. Yet, whenever emergencies arise—death, divorce, desertion, and migration tear the families asunder—the grandmother comes to the rescue of the young generation. She assumes—temporarily at least—a vital role in the life of the family, a primitive, but effective mechanism of group survival.

²⁷ "A man will say: 'I know much, for I had a grandfather', or 'I had no grandfather, therefore I know nothing!'" *Ibid.*, p. 84.

²⁸ "Our old age was in some respects the happiest period of life. Advancing years brought with them much freedom, not only from the burden of laborious and dangerous tasks, but from those restrictions of custom and etiquette which were religiously observed by all others." Charles A. Eastman, *The Soul of the Indian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), p. 35.

²⁹ See the episode in *Crashing Thunder*, autobiography of an American Indian, edited by Paul Radin (New York: Appleton, 1925), p. 89.

³⁰ It may happen in rotation of ideologies and power that the older generation is again up-to-date and modern, the concepts of youth obsolete and condemned. This is the situation in the conquered countries which were dominated by fascists.

²⁷ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 147).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

²⁹ "My grandmother was as nearly white as a Negro can get without being white, which means that she was white." Richard Wright, *Black Boy*. A record of childhood and youth. (New York: Harpers, 1945), p. 35.

³⁰ *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

The annual election of officers and directors was completed by mail on December 3 with the counting of 920 ballots and the following results: *President*: Loula Dunn, Commissioner, Alabama Department of Public Welfare; *Vice President*: Robert T. Lansdale, Commissioner, New York State Department of Social Welfare; *Treasurer*: Joseph L. Moss, Director, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago, Illinois; *Secretary*: Howard L. Russell, Director, American Public Welfare Association; *Board of Directors*: (Term to expire in 1948) Sanford Bates, Commissioner, Department of Institutions and Agencies, New Jersey; Fedele F. Fauri, Director, Department of Social Welfare, Michigan; Loa Howard, Administrator, State Public Welfare Commission, Oregon; George Keith, Director, Division of Public Assistance, Department of Public Welfare, Wisconsin; Marietta Stevenson, Professor of Social Administration, University of Illinois.

MARLOVIAN 42 STREET: FOLKWAYS OF THE MEGALOPOLIS

ARTHUR MINTON

Greenlawn, New York

SEVERAL years ago a moral clean-up was applied to the Broadway area of New York City, for the protection of visiting men of the armed services. Among the changes brought about at that time was the disappearance of a singular kind of movie advertising, which had been featured by several low-priced theaters on 42 Street between Times Square and Eighth Avenue. Besides legends on the marquee these theaters displayed on either side of the entrance placards employing a heroic idiom to describe the movies on view. The films were those that ran in ordinary houses, but in 42 Street advertising all was magnified: conventional plots became earth-shaking cataclysms; the conveyor-belt emotions were enlarged to the proportions of natural forces; nearly every chief male character was a colossus of good or of evil, while female characters panted with desire to scale. The atmosphere would have suited Tam-burlaine.

A popular hero of these placard rhapsodies was the "lone wolf" who fought his way to eminence—like the leading character of *Songs and Bullets*:¹

A drama of an intrepid / man who had no fear /
where the most fearless trembled / and who pitted
himself against / the raw forces of / nature & the out-
law of the wilderness!

The lone wolf outlawed / by the outlaws!

Ambushed by his / enemies!

Depicting the most daring rider / & the hardest
fighter of the borderland!

The power of this cinematic work was not, however, a matter of general agreement. An anonymous reviewer in *Variety*² said:

"Songs and Bullets," Stan Laurel's second venture as a producer, fails to carry the force implied by its title. It's a horse opera dualer that'll even find difficulty in the provinces. . . . This one's the usual yarn about cattle rustling.

¹ The full effect of these inscriptions is somehow associated with the manner in which they were divided into lines. Here the divisions will be indicated by virgules, except in a few examples for which the divisions were not recorded. Perhaps prosodists will discover rhythmic profundities in the line-divisions.

² May 18, 1938.

Omnipotent muscle was again celebrated in the description of *The Steel Barricades*; but now "a mighty-fisted leader" extended his sway over the spiritual realm too:

A drama that reaches the crest of / intensity of a
man³ who was saved / by the underworld of the high
seas!

He had to fight the law / & the underworld to save
his own life!

A powerful drama of / sweeping force & bitter
struggle, depicting / a mighty-fisted leader!

He set souls atremble / with his brutal power!

How objective this last description may be must be left to speculation. No record of such a title (*The Steel Barricades*) could be found in the *International Motion Picture Almanac, 1943-44* or in the *1944 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*—the standard listings. Other cases have been found in which the impresarios of 42 Street seem to have altered titles.

In the following example (for *It's a Small World*) the physically insuperable man is all-powerful erotically,⁴ too:

³ Such a floating prepositional phrase seems to be a stylistic peculiarity of the placard writers. See, for example, the blurbs below for *Making the Headlines* and *Twentieth Century Limited*.

⁴ The treatment of sexual themes in film advertising deserves study by itself. One document that has bearing is a picture spread with brief exposition, "The Sex Circuit," in the magazine *Pic*, February 7, 1939. There we are told that "The so-called 'sex films' fall into three definite categories. The first type . . . are the mild, comparatively innocuous pictures whose subject matter lends itself to sensational exploitation in advertisements, publicity and marquee display, like 'Wajan'." An accompanying photograph shows a marquee on which the sign proclaims, "'Wajan' the Son of a Witch / Native Passions of Half Nudists / Virgins of Bali / Exotic Naked Truth" . . . "The second type of 'sex film,'" according to *Pic*, are "the frankly sensational movies whose still pictures and advertising accurately reflect what the audience sees in the theatre." An example: "Love Life of a Gorilla / Unbelievable Adventure about the Jungle Playboys." Item, "Girls for Sale / Honor and Virtue Lost in Pittfalls (*sic*) of Jazz and Gin / True Sex Facts." Item, "Sins of Love / Hear Dynamic Sex Lectures by Noted Authorities" . . .

An absorbing drama of intense rivalry portraying a man as tough as granite and the undisputed master of love and its pitfalls!

A vitally exciting drama of a man who collided with society and a girl who collided with the law in the pursuit of thrills at high speed until they crashed through prison bars!

A certain perspective on the foregoing may be had from what was said about *It's a Small World* in an unsigned review in *Variety*⁵:

Given a rural locale, effort has been made to burlesk small towners for comic relief; but this, together with the romance developed between two people landing in an auto accident, doesn't pull strongly enough to make for anything but poor entertainment. The cast is unimpressive, the story very thin, and the direction undistinguished. Dialog, on the whole, without merit.

Male power now takes another transformation. The character represented by Noah Beery in *Murder Out of Singapore*⁶ not only was "a master of love" but "cracked the whip of cruelty over his victims"; or, as the placards sang:

The brutal rule of a / barbaric outlaw!

Depicting a man of lust / who knew no law and / cracked the whip of cruelty over his victims, / making women the slaves of / his tyrannical will!

"In the third category," *Pic* continues, "are the motherhood, birth control and sex hygiene films . . ."

The *Pic* spread presents reproductions of advertising (some examples above) employed for the first two types of films. An example of the blazoning sometimes accorded the third (that is, the scientific) type is the following, discovered in the Borough Hall section of Brooklyn in April, 1938: "Birth of a Child / Sex Madness / Shows Everything."

Advertising of the standard Hollywood products has its own erotic nuances, e.g., in the following, noted on the marquee of a family theater in Madison, Wisconsin, April, 1941: "The Lady Eve / She Sure Knows Her Apples / The Big Vex Picture of 1941 / Bewitched and Bewildered." And in the following, from an advertisement of the Mainstreet Theater of Racine, Wisconsin, found in the *Journal-Times* of that city, September 10, 1942: "Sextsational! Burlesque's sassy lassie with the classy chassis hides nothing in her first screen sizzler! As a tropical tease . . . Margie gives her all . . . SO GET YOUR SHARE! MARGIE HART IN 'LURE OF THE ISLANDS'." "On a more intellectual plane is this from an advertisement of the Jewel Theatre of Brooklyn, in the *New York Post*, of September 28, 1940: "'Harvest' . . . Not Immoral But Immortal."

⁵ June 28, 1935.

⁶ Presumably this is the film originally called *Out of Singapore*. A review was not obtainable.

A powerful drama of a / beautiful girl who took refuge from / a brutal love in an outpost / of civilization only to find / it inhabited by lawless men who / had not seen a woman in years!

In the placards on *Making the Headlines* sexual sadism was a garland for the modified "Beowulf" theme:

A Love-Mad Monster!

An intriguing drama of / suspense, thrills and romance depicting a / man who arose from / the soil like a giant / —and made for himself a / Deathless Destiny!

An uncanny drama that will / amaze & confound the imagination / of a girl in the clutches / of a love-mad monster—with her love battling / an unknown terror for her! A masterpiece / of suspense, mystery & romance!

Surely the foregoing description would have amazed and confounded any one who had read the *New York Herald Tribune's* review,⁷ which said:

The pulp story formula in "Making the Headlines" is given great leeway and becomes too twisted for its own good. . . . Certainly it is tame stuff for the Rialto's hardy patrons.

The placards for *Making the Headlines*, just cited, were aimed at an ambivalent response to erotic frustration: on the one hand, there was promise of satisfying sadistic impulses; on the other, self-reflection in a heroic role in which the woman is saved and consequently made indebted.

The heroic role had the field to itself in the placards for *Lost Souls at Sea*:

A drama that shook the world!

It pours forth from the screen / with all the force & ferocity / of a typhoon!

Portraying the red, white & blue / ruling the waves & in the rescue / of helpless souls at sea!

A tensely dramatic portrayal of / a man who was a demon of the ocean / & who battled the fire & the fury / to save the woman he / loved from the clutches / of disaster!

This last film, *Lost Souls at Sea*, is properly titled *Souls at Sea*. The alteration of title is a significant appeal to the depressed 42 Street clientele. As to the content of the film, a reviewer said that "the general verdict would be a disappointed 'fair'."⁸

When a female character was made the center of interest, she was usually found to be a Vesuvius of

⁷ Signed R. W. D., April 1, 1938.

⁸ Frank S. Nugent, *New York Times*, August 10, 1937.

volupté, as in the following account of *Twentieth Century Limited*:

An absorbing drama / that will pound on your emotions of a / woman whose glamor / overpowered the / senses—glowing, impassioned, but starving / for real love

She broke the bond of / convention yet fought for / her right to choose!

A story dramatically / revealed of a woman's / conflicting problem

Tense moments of / danger, peril & a / love that knew no bounds. Gripping sequences / that will never die!

A cavalcade of human / passions in a maelstrom of / life's greatest adventure!

How far this view of the film diverged from others may again be judged from the comment of a critic:⁹

...an extremely funny comedy, distinguished by one of the most brilliant performances John Barrymore has given during a long and illustrious career.

In the blurb for *The Go-Getter* the irresistible woman met the invincible man:¹⁰

⁹ Howard Barnes, New York *Herald Tribune*, May 4, 1934.

¹⁰ Other examples of this genus are the following, for films of which the titles were not recorded:

"A dramatic triumph of love's hell that will storm in your soul—

"Portraying a woman whose fatal fascination and an orgy of romances swept her into the arms of a dangerous lover!

"A drama that breaks into flame, of a man who fell into the arms of a female earthquake whose smile was Paradise and whose kiss was Hell.

"This drama inflated with deep emotions portrays an Unvarnished Gambler who was too smart to gamble with love until he met a woman who entangled him in her alluring embrace."

"A roaring drama mounting to a thundering climax of a human python and a gun moll who operated in a square mile of underworld hell the devil himself wouldn't dare to approach!

"A dictator of the underworld with fangs of fury challenging the police

"A ruthless killer in command of the bloody haunts of crime!

"You will witness a heart-rending drama that revolves around two men who tried to share the love of one woman—stilling the call of death with hungry words of love."

A throbbing drama vital as / the flame of life, portraying / a man who was iron / among the strongest but / melted in the arms of a / beautiful blonde / and had to / battle the world / to hold her love!

A terrific drama of a / woman caught in / a frenzy of ardor / and swept / by the / thundering torrent / of life's evil forces!

The molten conjunction was observed elsewhere¹¹ with a calmer eye:

Just as you have pictured him in the fiction pages of fifteen years ago, Peter B. Kyne's explosive old Cappy Ricks is back in the lumber and shipping business on the West Coast... experiencing again, in a modern manner, the vicissitudes of "The Go-Getter" for the purposes of a brightly romantic and fairly well-paced program picture of that title.

A similar discrepancy in the calidity of a love affair is found in the 42 Street placards about *Kathleen* and the New York *Times* review¹² of that film. The placards rang four alarms:

Love in the wilderness!

A beautiful girl fascinated / by a youthful intruder who / found her lying in the fields!

A great love stormed up between them!

She experienced the first kiss / that scorched her soul!

A dramatic portrayal of / a deathless love / more powerful than / the force of gravity / born in the wilderness / of a boy & a girl!

While the review handled this opus like a cold potato:

An Irish-made picture it is, as flavorsome in its dialogue and occasional glimpses of country life as a horse fair in County Cork; and as silly and sentimental in its story as a poor imitation of Hollywood can be.

The placard writers were capable of finding erotic explosions of cosmic proportions even in a lightweight comedy. The placards treating of *A Maelstrom of Love*¹³ began with an unwontedly relaxed touch:

¹¹ A review by J. T. M., New York *Times*, June 5, 1937.

¹² By B. C., January 24, 1938.

¹³ No such title is attributed to George Raft and Alice Fay, the leading actors in the piece. The only film in which these performers appeared together seems to have been *Every Night at Eight*. Concerning the latter an unsigned review in the New York *Times* of August 3, 1935 said, "It is simple, light-hearted and unpretentious."

You haven't seen a thing till / you've seen this girl swing.

Her whirling fan dance will / put you in a trance!

And you will laugh at the / jokes of a couple of funny / blokes who can play the piano / keys with pretty girls on / their knees!

But suddenly changing pace, the placards proceeded, as usual, to out-Herod Hollywood:

A drama of swift thrills / and explosive laughs!

You'll thrill / to this / exciting story / of a man and woman / of the / bright lights, / who went through / the tortures of Hell to / grasp the happiness that they / couldn't find separately!

More often the placards' rare lightness fell into a leer, as for *Kid Millions*:

Eddie Cantor comes to town with his dreams of Bagdad girls dressed in cellophane!

A word to the wise is sufficient!

Your emotions will sizzle to fever pitch!

A musical extravaganza with a barrage of laughs.

A soul-stirring extravaganza stripped before your eyes!

Eddie Cantor and his Arabian nights dreams of beautiful girls wrapped in cellophane!

To keep him pure and sweet.

It's daring!

A cheerful little earful and a great big eyeful!

Again, the *weltanschauung* of the placards becomes better defined if we compare with their rhapsodies the comment of a reviewer¹⁴ of *Kid Millions*:

... a superior screen comedy into which the generous Mr. Goldwyn has poured almost everything that seemed helpful to the cause of pleasure. ... invariably diverting, a continuously reliable bazaar of gayety and music.

A recurrent note in these placards was that of revelation—of illicit love and of corruption. Concerning *More than a Secretary* the placards screamed

A glittering expose of what / goes on behind the closed / doors of a private office!

A beautiful steno—she was shy, but with her boss—

A reviewer,¹⁵ however, found this piece "a trifling frippery" and continued that "as a comedy it rings hollow wherever it is tapped."

¹⁴ Andre Sennwald, *New York Times*, November 12, 1934.

¹⁵ Frank S. Nugent, *New York Times*, December 11, 1936.

The same writer¹⁶ said of *This Is China* that it is "an interesting tour of China, with special news value today." The film contains, he said, "a cruel glance inside an opium den." But in the placard China seemed to consist, satisfactorily, entirely of dens:

This Is China

The Chinese Dens of Iniquity!

A stark revelation of opium dens / & secret passages in a den / of iniquity

Revealing the secrets / that leaked out / from the opium dens / of China & the / helplessness of its victims in the / arms of the demon of darkness!

Another "revelatory" film was known to the placards as *Private Detective No. 67*. No such title was traceable in the standard reference works. It seems clear, however, that *Private Detective No. 67* was created *Private Detective 62*. (What obscure requirements of the 42 Street public led to the change?) And the latter, a reviewer¹⁷ said, exhibits "the shady activities of the private detectives . . . their adventures in homicide, blackmail and perjury amid a wealth of detail." One gets the impression, in short, of a solid piece of work with a background of sensational fact. The reviewer's description was thus matched by the placards' trumpeting for *Private Detective No. 67*:

A daring drama ripped from / screaming headlines of / BLACKMAILERS / who victimize indiscreet / wives, and human vultures / who prey on / innocent women in the / most insidious racket ever / devised!

A sensational drama / seething with excitement / of secret service / sleuths caught in a series / of entanglements and a woman / who shot a man because she / refused to be compromised!

The kind of movie blurbs recorded here no doubt occurs elsewhere in similar social contexts. The following example was seen at Coney Island:

THE NOTORIOUS SOPHIE LANG / A drama that blazes with excitement of a daring adventuress outside the law, who never left a clue and thrilled to danger, but not to love—A slave to the underworld, her alluring beauty carried her close to the flames!

A reviewer¹⁸ had found *The Notorious Sophie Lang* "a witty and exuberant entertainment."

Another Coney specimen (the film title was not noted) ran:

¹⁶ *New York Times*, October 6, 1937.

¹⁷ Richard Watts, *New York Herald Tribune*, July 7, 1933.

¹⁸ A. D. S., *New York Times*, July 21, 1934.

A frenzy of fighting action!

Romance and bloodshed in the South Seas . . . to the victor belongs the prize—a gorgeous bronze-skinned siren of the jungle

Determined to leave no stone unmoved, the same theater proclaimed on its marquee:

Half-Clad Virgins Run Wild
Sex Fiend Attacks Heiress

What is the social context that gives rise to advertising of this kind? Specifically, what is the context in 42 Street between Times Square and Eighth Avenue? The district is, so to speak, a *lumpen*-Broadway. To this block, which has been distinguished by freak shows and flea circuses, drift the impecunious and graceless who visit New York in search of the legendary wonder of the city. Because of their limitations, economic and social, they find only the hard way of the stranger. Drifting disconsolately along Broadway, they turn to the manufactories of experience surrogates, the movie houses. The violent phrases of the 42 Street placards (and the low prices of admission) promised at least vicarious fulfilment of the vague dreams of sex and power which are epitomized in the New York legend as it is despatched in daily journalism over the wide country.

The content of the placards—which was often but distantly related to that of the films—was aimed at the tensions of the prospective audiences. The “lone wolf” was dramatized. Perhaps a pariah, he yet was supreme, even over “the raw forces of nature.” More, he was “the undisputed master of love and its pitfalls.” (A rich ambivalence here: first the fantasy value of “mastery in love”; second, the compensatory suggestion that love has its drawbacks for those who achieve it.) In another aspect of compensation the male (to whom the placards were primarily directed) was represented in sadistic relations with women—e.g., in the blurb for *Murder Out of Singapore*. But aggressive compensation (so to call it) is not enough, and so there emerges the hero-protector to whom a woman will be grateful; or at least (as

in the placards for *The Go-Getter*) “a man who was iron among the strongest . . . melted in the arms of a beautiful blonde.” Women too were represented as helpless in the grip of desire—“caught in a frenzy of ardor.” (No doubt part of the significance here is justification for sexual actions to which a sense of guilt has become attached.) But they—like some of the male characters—often burned futilely (“starving for real love”) till the impact of the ultimate mate. (As the theme is stated in a popular song, “It had to be you, nobody but you.” To the socially insecure men the placards were purring, “A woman waits for you.”) Finally, the “revelation” theme will be recalled. Therein the placards said, in effect, “You see, the world that has rejected you is not so respectable, after all.”

The themes just reviewed are not unknown in motion pictures themselves, though there they are rarely presented in such pile-driver style. The placards reiterated these themes regardless whether the themes occurred in the films advertised (or at least whether the themes were given weight in the films). Thus even a raucous satirical comedy like *Twentieth Century* became in the placards, “an absorbing drama that will pound on your emotions of a woman whose glamor overpowered the senses.”

The alteration of the film titles gave two advantages. First, it avoided use of titles that might be already known to prospective patrons. The films would then be in the light of an esoteric literature available only in the magic purlieu of the City. Secondly, titles were changed better to meet the emotional requirements of the 42 Street public.

The placards and altered titles show in gross a phenomenon present in a large part of all expression, namely, the modification, in statement, of facts (here the content and titles of the films) so that the “facts” may serve to relieve tensions and thereby preserve equilibriums. This phenomenon is apparent enough in conversation, in journalism, and in popular historical writing. It even abounds—and how quaintly—in the prim demesnes of scholarship.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AS THE BASIC ACCULTURATING INFLUENCE FOR NATIVE NEW MEXICANS

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THE function of a grammar school is generally conceptualized by the public as providing sufficient basic training in the "fundamentals" to enable individuals to compete with their neighbors in the community. Secondly, the school, whether we approve or not, acts as the background of daily environment in which students divide themselves into association-groups, largely on the basis of the class system (sometimes complicated by semi-caste considerations) by which their parents are divided socially in community life.¹ In broad consideration of the school system in relation to minority groups within this country, we usually place a third function foremost: the so-called process of "Americanization," a concept referring to acquisition of the culture symbols characteristic of the majority group rather than to citizenship per se. On the basis of these functions, the schools of New Mexico may be criticized for not having adequately equipped the Spanish American pupils for competition with Anglo neighbors and for having been very backward in providing rural pupils, especially, with Anglo culture symbols. These two situations, combined, have augmented the tendency toward ethnic group separation within the broad class system of the State as a whole.

To present this last proposition in other words: the Manito,² having grown up in this country and presumably being equipped with the standard training received by any other American child, still is discovered by Anglo pupils and adults, alike, to be "different." Usually he is less advanced in comprehension of formal school subjects and ill at ease in urban Anglo life, if, indeed, he attempts such participation at all. Nevertheless, the ten-

dency of individuals and of families to accept or to reject what training and broadening of experience is provided by the State schools probably is the most important avenue by which class status may be raised and is determined to a large extent by the original class category of the family within the local social system. This brings us back to the point of the extreme importance of the school system to this minority group of American citizens. Before proposing improvement, however, one should understand the history of the bi-ethnic social organization of New Mexico.³

The Manitos are made up of the descendants of the original conquerors of New Mexico, with some admixture of later Spanish immigrants, of other outside blood, and of an occasional newcomer from old Mexico.⁴ New Mexico has been their home since the early 1600's and the majority, having been more concerned with distinct loyalty to their territory than to distant powers, readily accepted the offer of American citizenship in 1848.⁵ But as Anglos moved into New Mexico, the personal possessions of the native owners immediately began to decrease. The rural Manitos were not accustomed to dealing with a monetary system and their ideas of land values were vague. The Anglos were devoted to the principles of competition in business enterprise and the quick accumulation of frontier fortunes. This resulted in considerable loss to the Manitos and consequent gain to the Anglos, a situation made increasingly difficult by the progressive division of the remaining Manito-

¹ The detailed study is being published in Donovan Senter, *Villages of the Saints*, and is summarized in D. Senter, "Acculturation of New Mexican Villages in Comparison to Adjustment Patterns of other Spanish-speaking Americans," *Rural Sociology*, 10 (March, 1945), pp. 31-47.

² Mexican immigrants, in general, are set apart from the Manitos by customs and blood mixture and are not accepted by the native New Mexicans as equals.

³ New Mexico belonged to Spain until 1823 and to the Republic of Mexico from 1823 to 1847.

¹ Detailed examples of this situation in the schools of the East and of the Middle West are given by W. L. Warner, Robert Havighurst, and M. Loeb, in *Who Shall Be Educated* (N. Y.: Harpers, 1944).

² A native term for Spanish Americans, derived from their custom of affectionately referring to each other as "Hermanito" (Little brother).

owned land through their own inheritance system, degeneration of the lands, and lack of modern methods and machinery for cultivation. The only group of Manitos able to cope adequately with the Anglo problem was that of the upper class, educated, sophisticated, and, at least for a good proportion of their lives, urban. These were the people who always had held political control in the province, who sent some of their children to universities in Europe or in Mexico, and who presided over the lower and middle class families working on their haciendas in the old feudal and paternal manner.

That education would have been useful to any but upper class Manitos was a thought which occurred to few. In folk groups formal education is a luxury and beyond the demands of ordinary life. The child is given a set of habits and rules for getting along in a rather stable environment which will change little during his lifetime. The education necessary to these rural Manitos was managing cattle and sheep, working the land, converting raw materials into houses, clothing, and food, and gaining social integration within the community through mutual planning and cooperation. The muster roll of 1681 listed 147 inhabitants, of which only 52 could sign their names.⁶ In a survey made in 1827, New Mexico's population was composed of 6,588 farmers, 12,237 craftsmen, 17 school teachers, 2,475 day laborers, 17 priests, and 1 surgeon.⁷ The 17 school teachers offered classes in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but books available for study were only the Bible and a few novels, and writing materials were scarce. Most of these schools functioned only during the winter months when the students, ranging from children to adults, could be away from their field labors.

American schools officially were established in New Mexico by the territorial legislature of 1855 and '56, their support to come from a property tax. For some reason, four counties were exempt from operation of the law and allowed to state their desire for public schools by vote. "The returns show that, in a popular vote of 5053, there were only 37 men to be found in favor of public schools,

a fact which exhibits an opposition to the cause of education truly wonderful."⁸ The need for formal education, or any benefits to be accrued therefrom, obviously were not apparent to the Spanish American populace: they had made their living without it since the period of the Conquistadores. Their ancestors left Spain while education belonged only to the select few, especially the priests. In the isolation of New Mexico there was little chance to discover that general education was spreading and becoming necessary to business enterprise throughout the world.

With the advent of the Anglos, two class systems came to exist in New Mexico, the one a statewide system covering both Anglos and Manitos but from Anglo standards, and the other a rural village system pertaining to Manitos alone. In this second system, the villagers recognize three classes. The upper class is made up of old families who hold themselves apart from the general group except in exerting political control. They are businessmen, school teachers, farmers, or ranchers. Some remain and some are descended from the *patrones* of old Spanish times, persons who, because of their superior wealth and knowledge of the world beyond the villages, acted as fathers and advisers, employers, and protectors of the common people. The *patrones* of the early days were the buffers between rural Manitos and the intruding Anglos, and where such people exist today, their power to influence the villagers for or against formal education and rehabilitation aids should be realized fully and utilized by Anglo agencies. Their children are sent to high school and, sometimes, on to business school or to college. They seldom question the superiority of the ways of Anglo life. They live for the future but usually concentrate more on economic and political advancement than on cultural amalgamation for the majority of their people. In the status system for the State as a whole, they are thought of as falling within the large middle class.

Below this group in the village is a rural middle class, small farmers and day laborers, whose lives are oriented by the old Spanish values and customs. These people are more interested in family and village social participation than in social mobility. A large proportion of the older people are illiterate because schools were rare in their childhood, but most of the children attend grammar school through the sixth or even the eighth grade. Few

⁶ France Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review*, X, no. 2 (1935), pp. 71-111.

⁷ Don Juan Bautista Pino, "Exposition," in *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, H. Bailey Carrol and J. Villarsana Haggard, Quivira Soc. of Albuquerque, N. M. (1942).

⁸ W. H. Davis, *El Gringo* (Santa Fe., N. M., The Rydal Press, 1938), p. 66 (Originally published in 1856).

go on to high school. Many families consider that the tendency toward Anglicization in the high schools leads directly toward excess freedom of association between the sexes and to resultant immorality. They live in the present and plan only for the immediate future: their living standards necessarily are low, but they compensate for lack of worldly possessions through emphasis on the wealth of human values through the extended family relationships.

In the lower class of the village people, medievalism is even more apparent, in related beliefs in magic, witchcraft, and the abilities of local Manito and Pueblo Indian *curanderos*. This class is very poor; the older people usually are illiterate. The majority of their children attend school as far as the third grade but then drop out. Their cleanliness and health varies, but both average below that of the middle and upper class villagers. The children of all three classes in villages tested, however, have been found to suffer almost universally from avitaminosis, malnutrition, and a series of diseases contracted through lack of physical stamina.⁹ This condition is one of the principal causes for some of these people not exhibiting as much energy in physical labor as Anglos may expect, a situation all too easily confused with laziness.

In considering the somewhat vaguely defined but functioning class system of the State as a whole, the lower and middle classes of the villages are combined as "lower class," the members of which customarily are referred to as "Mexicans." The upper class of the villages is allowed a general "middle class" status, and members are referred to by Anglos intending to be polite as "Spanish Americans"; and the small group of "old Spanish families" who have remained important in politics, the professions, and the larger business enterprises of the area since long before Anglos arrived, are accorded "upper class" status. This latter group, speaking English as well as Spanish, well educated and usually not without adequate financial background, frequently intermarries with Anglos. Although their bi-ethnic participation can not be said to be entirely without inter-group prejudice,

that prejudice certainly is at a minimum in comparison with that affecting the lower status groups.

The average amount of formal education acquired today by members of the different classes of Manitos, as described above, differs tremendously and, except for the upper class of the State as a whole, remains low. Moreover, the actual amount and type of instruction received through a given number of grades, varies decidedly from school to school. In a study of Manitos engaged in war work, Loomis¹⁰ has made comparisons of salaries received versus years of formal education per individual, and he does not find that the amount of education is an obvious factor in increasing the ability of an individual to aid the country or to make his living. This study might seem to nullify the importance of the school system in the lives of these people, but, if we consider this information in connection with our knowledge of amount of education acquired by the different classes within the State, we reach another conclusion. It is not the upper class (of the State as a whole) which has gone into defense plant jobs, and this is the only class which, as a unit, has accepted advanced education. Those individuals within families of the middle class who have struggled through the high schools and, occasionally, have continued with more advanced education, usually have become business or professional people and thereby moved to the top of their own class or even into the lower brackets of the upper class. Those remaining in the middle and in the lower classes receive comparatively little education, as an average, and apparently do not profit by it.

But the very fact that the group checked by Loomis was able to hold defense jobs, which entailed use of the English language and enough knowledge of Anglo customs, commercial system, etc., to enable them to live in Anglo communities and to compete with Anglo war workers, in itself proves the fundamental worth of those few years of grammar school training. The young people at least had become aware of opportunities outside their villages, had realized that technical training, such as that offered by the WPA classes for prospective war workers, was worth the effort entailed in terms of future gain, and had acquired enough confidence in meeting the alien culture to dare to leave the security of home and to become

⁹ M. Pijoan, "Certain Factors Involved in the Struggle Against Malnutrition and Disease, with Special Reference to the Southwest of the United States and Latin America," *Latin America in Social and Economic Transition*, Proceedings of the Conference on Latin America in Social and Economic Transition, 1943 (Inter Americana Short Papers, no. 7, 1944).

¹⁰ Charles P. and Nellie H. Loomis, "Skilled Spanish-American War-Industry Workers from New Mexico," *Applied Anthropology*, 2, No. 1 (1942), pp. 33-36.

a part of the greater world. Within this sphere we could not expect pronounced differences between salaries earned by those who finished the third grade and those who finished the fifth unless the training received, grade by grade, were carefully planned toward the best interests of the students. This would entail consideration of their past training, their special needs, and the most efficient methods of teaching certain material, which customarily presumes a background of one culture, to people with the background of another, anachronistic in time and isolated.

In the northern counties of New Mexico, where Manito population is over ninety-five percent, newspapers, radios, magazines, telephones, and the telegraph are almost equally rare. Roads, sometimes impassable for days when blocked by deep snows or flooded from rains, are the only means of reaching the outside world. The individual who realizes that education enables him to move out or to make a better life within his own village has found the door to relative equality with the Anglo and to consequent rise in his personal class status. Unfortunately ethnic prejudice and the linguistic handicap will so plague his progress that he must have more physiological and psychological stamina than an Anglo child if he is to continue. His problem is in reality the problem of educators and institutions interested in the progress of minority groups toward amalgamation, a problem in which the pupil must be considered in relation to his society and culture quite as much as in relation to our own. Although adult education may effect a few changes, amalgamation must come primarily through grammar and high school training of the children of a minority group. As the Leightons have demonstrated in relation to the Navajos, "... by the time a person is an adult he is so conditioned to the patterns and attitudes of his culture that subsequent complete change is unlikely."¹¹ The only solution is coming to grips with the problem of duty of the school system to the Manito citizens of New Mexico, the causes of failure, and the possible adjustments toward something approaching the efficiency of grammar school education for Anglo children.

It is common knowledge that the schools of northern New Mexico, where Manitos comprise almost the total population, never have received

as much money per student as those in the more thickly populated and more Anglified portions of the State. The shortage of funds for these schools is the more lamentable in that theirs are the more complicated problems in education and might justly require more rather than less in the lines of equipment and personnel. This difference in relative difficulty is not a matter of the intelligence of the two groups of children but, instead, pertains primarily to the fact that the standard American school system is planned and the textbooks written for children speaking English as their native tongue and with a pre-school as well as a school-age background of Anglo concepts, habits, customs, and mores.

Most Anglo children can not remember when they were first introduced to paper, pencils, crayons, paints, and books containing pictures of other cities and lands. Such a child's knowledge moves outward from the standard equipment and habits of the home in regard to food, cleanliness, recreation, interpersonal relationships, etc., to acquaintance (through discussion, pictures, movies, or first-hand experience) with trains, skyscrapers, ocean-going ships, etc. His early training includes the concept of disease germs and adequate nutrition, points from which a teacher can expand on the essentials of health. His social adjustment is likely to be poorer than that of the Manito child, his nerves more tense, and his independence less developed, but these are not items of consideration to those arranging curricula of study. If the grammar school is intended to be a basis of Americanization for American citizens, then, for the Manitos, it must include subject material not available in the Manito home, although common to Anglo backgrounds, and requisite to their future association with and competition with Anglos. This necessary material is social as well as factual in content and, on the basis of providing them with sufficient stamina for learning at a normal rate and later taking a place in the adult world, should contain information and actual aid in the line of improved health as well.

When Manito children from the villages enter the first grade, their maximum of English is "Hello," "Yes," and "No." In school their first two adjustments (and the situation remains thus throughout the educational period) will be toward acquisition of the language and comprehension of the other symbols of the new culture. This process is not without pain, for one cannot move from his own culture into that of another group

¹¹ Alexander and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), p. 137.

without first learning to abjure a part of his own. This entails either an acceptance of a general dictum from members of the other culture that his native background is lower than theirs, or, better, realization that the other culture group will not accept him unless he substitutes *some part* of their culture for an equal portion of his own. This latter concept puts less stress on the psychology of the individual but is more difficult to reach except by a sophisticated and traveled person. If we examine two contrasting Manito schools, we can point out the effects of different school conditions and methods upon the children, as well as evaluate the position of the teacher in her relationship to the students.

In the combined primary-first grade room of one school are 47 children. Sixty came to enroll in the fall, but 13 enthusiastic young ones were sent home because they had not yet reached the age of six. Of those left, the ten who knew the most English were promoted to the second grade as soon as possible because that room was less crowded.

The youngsters sit on long benches drawn up beside low tables with board tops so uneven that they must be covered with magazines before one can write or draw upon them. But the school is out of drawing paper, so there will be no drawing for a while. Lessons in reading and writing are combined in the copying and class recitation of nursery rhymes printed upon the blackboard by the teacher. But pencils are not furnished, many of the children have not brought pencils from home, and the teacher must search her purse for extras and send a child to the principal's office for a knife to sharpen them. Those who have no pencil can spend their time, instead, in washing their hands clean of the dirt acquired during recess. A little basin stands on a bench in the corner, but someone must go to the principal's office to borrow his soap: the school is out of soap.

Enrollment in the three upper grades of this school averages only one-half that of the lower three.¹² Disciplinary problems, difficult to handle with large beginning classes seated on benches,

lessen in the upper grades, but the importance of their handling increases. When a teacher whipped most of the boys in his room with a doubled rope because they had been laughing and talking aloud, the irate older brother of one threatened that if these boys were whipped again the teacher would be reported to the local Justice of the Peace. Another teacher whipped the legs of some talkative girls until they were black and blue, and, although only one of the mothers went to complain about the beating, the village buzzed with disapproval. Such incidents do not encourage continuation in school or village cooperation.

For contrast we can examine the school which grew out of an amalgamation of a former county secular grade school with the Catholic Sisters' grammar school. The combination provided an adequate number of teachers as well as improved facilities. Half the teachers are nuns and half are secular, but students and teachers alike chance to be Catholic. Protestants (rare here) are welcome to attend, however, and would not be required to be present during the period of religious instruction from 8:30 until 9:00 in the mornings.

The atmosphere of this school is charged with constant pressure to instill into the children a drive toward institutionalized symbols of approval, such as success in learning English, in completing grammar school, in attending high school, and even in going on to business college, the university, or professional schools. Behind this drive are the teachers and the local priest, whose consistent encouragement has been an important influence in the lives of all the students. At the priest's suggestion the alumni club of the grammar school, including all the graduates and with the teachers as honorary members, was organized. Each Sunday night they meet to discuss world news and village problems, or to enjoy a party or a dance in the schoolhouse. All of the eighth grade students of this school have gone on to high school and some even further. At the baccalaureate for one graduating class, the *padre*, remembering the struggle of his widowed mother to put him through school, asked each student to bring his mother to the front of the church to receive acclaim from all the parishioners. These parents will redouble their efforts in backing their children toward higher education.

In comparison to the equipment of a city school, that of this school may seem poor, but in compari-

¹² In 1940 Sanchez, who first called general attention to the plight of the Manitos, reported that one-half the total school enrollment in Taos alone was to be found in the first three grammar school grades and only ten percent of the total in high school. (I. A. Sanchez, *Forgotten People*, Albuquerque, N. M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 74.

son to that of the school previously discussed it appears wonderfully adequate. The furniture consists of long low tables and chairs made from orange crates and requiring some carpentering nightly but yet insuring individual seating. There is a cloakroom with lavatory and hooks for wraps and a set of shelves filled with books and toys. At the beginning of each year a label is printed in English and tacked to every object in the room. Thus, at his first experience with a word, the child associates name with object. Colors and pictures on cards carry the children further in reading, and acting out such simple stories as that of Little Black Sambo encourages the acquisition of a speaking vocabulary as soon as possible.

The problem of acquiring bi-lingualism is complicated by the fact that during the six pre-school years at home a child's idea of the world has been crystallized into the categories presented to him within his village and through the medium of the Spanish language. He can not soon realize that most English cognates refer to a world very different from that of his village and that the accompanying mental tone when given words are used by native English- or Spanish-speaking persons may vary considerably. Few teachers, themselves, comprehend the extent of the difficulty of thinking in the concepts of one culture and trying to couch these in symbols of another. But, regretfully remembering that she first learned English by rote and was some years in gaining some comprehension of the new language, the teacher of the first grade in this school asks the students questions about lessons read in primers and supplementary books. Simple games and songs in English utilize the principle of a child's strong drive to perform in front of others and to compete for praise. By the end of the first half of the first grade (third semester in school) these children know about 250 words of English. That number increases to 500 before the end of the year. Unfortunately, the school cannot furnish enough textbooks for each student to have one, but the group of students who fall behind is small. These, moreover, characteristically are children who have transferred from counties where schooling frequently is interrupted by heavy snows or who start school six or eight weeks late and continue with a carefree attitude toward study.

Teachers in this school maintain that English is becoming increasingly easy to teach because children now come to school with more of a back-

ground of Anglo words and experiences than their older brothers and sisters enjoyed. For this they thank the large families. Although actual homework rarely is assigned to the primary class or to the first graders (because the light of small kerosene lamps is felt to be inadequate for their reading), the youngsters are encouraged to take their books home each evening because the parents like to see their children carrying books and, besides, may read a bit in such books themselves. At night the youngest children, wanting to be part of the group, crowd around the tables where older children are studying. The English textbooks and the connotation of the schoolroom make conversation concerning the studies seem more appropriate in English than in the native tongue, and the pre-school tots hear more of the new language and of new subjects than otherwise would be possible. With parents and children alike interested in the school, teachers find it difficult to persuade their pupils to remain at home even when they have communicable diseases. Absences have ceased to be a problem and discipline is handled with a few words.

A teacher can provide material, methods, and stimulus in the classroom but, to learn, the students must be alert. In this school from seventy-five to eighty percent of the 225 children registered have been provided with lunches through the government program for improving the health of American youth. Those who can pay are charged two and a half cents per meal; the others pay nothing. Such meals, appetizing as well as nourishing, are a partial solution to the problem of undernourishment and avitaminosis which Pijoon found to be a principal cause in lack of interest and responsiveness in schoolrooms of the high-altitude counties of northern New Mexico.¹³

The two schools above discussed contrast in atmosphere, attendance, and the post-grammar school accomplishments of the students. Can we, through these contrasts, synthesize the specific resistances to education and the successful use of response-entailing cues to conquer that resistance and insure personal integration of those acculturative items of education most important to a future in the modern world?

The Manito child's first discouragement toward attending school is the necessity of learning English. A child learns his own language as a means of making his wants known: "Society makes that rela-

¹³ M. Pijoon, *op. cit.*

tively effortless response supremely worth while."¹⁴ But, when he is forced into learning a second language, he already is able to obtain what he wants from his own people. Unless a considerable reward value is attached to learning the new language, the child sees little cause to put forth effort. This is one of the major problems in the more isolated villages, for the natives feel that Spanish is their own and proper language and that the rarely seen Anglos are "foreigners" of late arrival and unimportant language.

But if "learning a language supplies the child with an enormous arsenal of cue-producing responses and with habits of using these responses in ways which have been found socially acceptable,"¹⁵ and if the child sees opportunity of gaining something he wants by means of these new cue-producing responses, then he will take an interest in acquiring them. It is necessary for him to see that his Spanish, although gaining certain ends, will not give him certain things which the English tongue will give. These rewards to the child will be classroom success, which, if of importance to his fellows and, perhaps, by great good fortune, to some older person in the town, may be adequate reward. Or—although this would be more important as the child grows older—he might be told or observe that actual competition in an area changing from the old Spanish dominion and ways toward an Anglo regime necessitates knowledge of English as a basis for gaining material success and many of the comforts and delights of living. If none of these rewards is very apparent to the child, the result is the average village Manito eighth grader who, after a year or so away from school, can not even follow simple directions in English. The cue of the English words, never strong, has become too weak a stimulus to produce action.

Today the rise toward a position of higher class and Anglicization carries a reward value of generally richer and more secure life. It also has the value of prestige in groups who admire Anglo "success," but in those other groups, who resentfully despise the dominance of the Anglo, the prestige value is annihilated. Some conservatives claim that those turning toward education are trying to be above their people and are too good

for them, are, in other words, "turn-tails." In such a case, social disapproval, acting as a non-reward or punishment, may very well result in discouraging further attempts at learning. It is in this connection that the extreme importance of the rôle of the teacher in the Manito school becomes apparent.

The teacher, who speaks with authority to her pupils and to their parents, acts as a crowd leader offering rewards for specific responses in learning. She can manipulate her group. If the teacher is a Spanish American who carries socially evaluated symbols of her own culture as well as of the new culture, those of the new come to appear the more valuable by their association in the one individual. Children easily learn to discriminate between good and bad teacher-leaders and can not be influenced toward picking up items of foreign culture from one who does not hold their respect in items of their own culture. The native teacher who beats a child for small offenses is going against the precepts of his own culture, which disapproves of extreme punishment for children and which controls by speech unless the situation be drastic. Neither his precepts nor his example as an Anglicized Spanish American will be copied. The teacher who cannot conduct himself as a superordinated individual no longer is superordinated in the minds of the people. He cannot expect the children to take his orders seriously or his advice at all.

The rôles of the parent and of the teacher supplement each other. The parent is the leader for dependent matched responses (responses made by an individual dependent upon a leader for direction) of children growing up in their own culture. In copying the parents, the child observes the culture norm of modal behavior and the deviations permissible. The teacher is the leader for dependent matched responses involving cultural items of the foreign group. The pupils are dependent upon her for learning the proper cues and responses, with Anglo context, for life in the larger community. The teacher who reacts in a certain way to the cue of an Anglicized situation gives her pupils another cue to direct their responses in lines parallel to her own. She does this in what usually is considered her secondary rôle of model to the group rather than in her primary or official rôle as teacher of the three R's, but in the Manito community it is her secondary rôle which is of primary importance.

Where the dominant cultural group as a whole

¹⁴ Neal Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 82.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

is viewed with some suspicion and hostility, the fact that the grammar school teacher frequently is one of the Manitos who stands as a model of bi-cultural success is of utmost importance. The Anglo teacher could fill the primary rôle of teaching the textbook material and in some cases might give a better pronunciation of English to her students, but she never could fill equally the secondary rôle of model, an individual who can "pass" in either direction from one culture to the other. In acculturating minority groups, whose position is subordinate, the selection and training of the grammar and high school teachers should be a matter of utmost concern and care. The personality and attitudes of those individuals are major factors in determining the reactions of the Spanish-background American citizens of a few years hence, and, at present, also in influencing the attitude of parents and other adults of the villages. In the second school described, the lay teachers substantiate their position of prestige by education, speech, clothes, and bearing. Their personality type, as a whole, is given the sanction of the church through their position of equality with the nuns who are teachers and likewise by the the spoken and enacted approval of the *padre* who consistently interests himself in the welfare of the school. The children imitate the lay teacher and accept her encouragement toward attending high school as a suggestion of further decreasing the distance between her and themselves.

Moreover, the association of high school students, grammar school graduates, and grammar school faculty provides friendly cooperation and guidance during the period when most adolescent young people are without aid except from their own homes. This is the period when problems arise concerning certain Anglo teachers who show little understanding or interest in Manito students, particularly those concerning student personality adjustment to the new freedoms to date, to pet, and to experiment with sex, as accepted by many high school students. Through the study club, there is enough discussion of Anglo customs to lead toward more understanding and less excited experimentation. The grammar school teachers within the club still continue, through education, personal appearance, and general demeanor, to hold the respect of their former students and to gently lead them away from many of the dangers unfortunately explicit in acculturation during this post-grammar school period. If the teacher is

successful enough in handling the mores of her own original culture plus those of the Anglos, she will be respected by parents as well as children, an important condition in quelling some of the antagonism arising between parents and children of this age on the basis of acculturation problems.

In proposing changes in grammar schools directed toward increased attendance, increased gain from subjects presented, and increased ability of the students—especially those of lower and middle class groups—to make their way in the contemporary world, consideration of the three principal causes which appear to be fundamental to the general difficulties encountered are basic. These are physical, social, and linguistic. More specifically: the health of most northern Manitos is so below par that their physical and mental performance can not be at normalcy; they are not at ease in English; and their training does not provide an understanding of Anglo mores of conduct, ideals, or standards of dress and grooming. In many respects, Anglo customs and conduct are quite misunderstood by the Manitos trying to copy them, and the result is a situation which, since it fits into neither Anglo nor Spanish American culture, draws the adverse comments of both toward individuals trying to acculturate. An example is the feeling that any girl who goes out with a boy must be immoral. In the old Spanish mores, girls were kept under chaperonage from the age of puberty until they were married, and anyone escaping from such chaperonage was considered to have slept with some man. Knowing that they were expected to behave thus under those conditions, the girls rarely slipped away from their chaperones except for the one purpose. Now the young Manitos, watching Anglo girls go out unchaperoned with men, think that they should do the same. That dates do not necessitate immorality is as novel an idea to some young Manitos as to their parents. Explanation of the concepts which accompany Anglo customs would alleviate much of this confusion.

Lack of understanding of our belief in the importance of neat and attractive dress and grooming is another problem, especially when girls attempt work in town. In the villages, a woman who customarily is careful of her appearance is considered to be advertising her availability for illegitimate alliances. For this reason, as well as because of isolation and poverty, training in the principles of personal appearance rarely is available for girls. The results are extreme styles, cheap

and shoddy garments, and excessive color on the face and frizziness of the hair for many, all detrimental to their position in the society of the State as a whole.

The linguistic handicap, as already indicated, is not only in pronunciation but likewise in the lack of an adequate concept of the connotations as well as of the denotations of words in the new language. Only by experience with objects and situations of the Anglo culture can such difficulties be met, and this experience should be provided as early as possible so that the individual will not be forced into a confusion of learning and re-learning.

Whatever the details of school plan proposals, the aim should be to aid students at the level of grammar school life in becoming more fit, physically and socially, to move into the new culture or, if they are among those who will remain in the villages, to give them further background in understanding Anglo ways of life and in improving their own situation. The plan should be designed for adaptation to low income groups, a category into which most of the villagers fit. It should strike at the minority group problem from the practical angle of making it more possible for the individual of that group to fit into the society of the majority group, to give him as much understanding of that majority group as possible, and to alleviate some of the prejudice of the majority group against him through making it possible for him to be less obviously and—to most persons of a majority group—less objectionably different from themselves. This is not to say that the culture of either group is superior to the other. Many of the characteristics of each are admirable and should be preserved, but in those which the acculturating individual must change for others, he should be offered training of a type to make the process quicker and less of a psychological strain than at present.

Such a plan should include actual presentation of the material to the children in a village school and some observation of the village homes and problems at the beginning of the course, periodically throughout the year, and at the end. By making friends with the children, the homes can be entered. Such a survey would indicate how much of the training being given the children was being carried to the adults and thus put to double usage. The instructor should be, ideally, a Spanish American who, while retaining rapport with the villagers, would represent, by her personal

adjustment, the successful Anglicization of the present and future generations.

Programs dealing with the utilization of the land have been tried out in experimental schools for the Manitos¹⁶ and have been successful from the economic point of view. But the two primary requirements basic to broad economic or to social success in this period of acculturation are the socialization and health of the individual, the two points around which our proposed school program would be oriented. Fundamental facility in speaking and understanding the English language could be instilled through use of that language within a combined action-study program. If the students are *doing* things selected as basic to certain Anglo designs of thought and considered to be of special importance to these people in modern village life or in moving out into the wider world, language and concepts become automatically related in the reactions of the doers.

This action-study program might be planned around a miniature village house (floor plan) arranged within the schoolhouse or a nearby structure and used by a class meeting two or three times per week. The house would contain a bed, cupboards, dishes, and wood stove similar to those seen throughout the village. To this, simple home-made equipment designed to facilitate sanitation and ease labor would be added by the students. Programs in cooking, sewing, child care, prevention and home treatment of disease, and discussion of the mores and manners of Anglo culture could be developed upon a graphic basis of action associated with discussion. To check the present nutritional standards of the homes, the children could make out lists of the foods consumed over a certain period of time (this might be combined with lessons in spelling and in English composition) and these lists checked with charts of human requirements so that the children would realize dietary deficiencies. Necessary supplementary foods could be determined in co-operation with the county agent to the end that the foods selected be adapted to growth in their area or readily obtainable, and student consultation should assure lack of conflict with cultural standards in food habits. Preparation of foods in the practice house might be accompanied by discussions on the effect of length and method of cooking in relation to nutritive values. If the

¹⁶ L. S. Tireman, *La Comunidad, Report of the Nambé Community School* (Albuquerque, N. M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1939).

approach always is made from the basis of present standards and equipment of homes and what can be done by the people themselves to improve their health and status in relation to Anglo standards—and always without carping disparagement of present conditions or of local culture—cooperation can be expected. For the teachers, a required course combining social anthropology of the modern Anglo culture with a modified domestic science regime oriented toward the problems of isolated people would provide a practical background in dealing with any rural population.

If school programs are considered merely a problem for educators, those educators will be faced with the difficulties of persuading hesitant State legislators to provide funds for change. To this is added, in New Mexico, the generalized objection of Spanish American politicians and their clientele of seeing their people marked off from Anglos in any way, school programs included. If, however, the grammar school education of rural groups (including minority peoples) is seen as fundamental in preparing them to fit into the broad Anglo scheme of rural and urban social organization and economics, it becomes the problem of all agencies concerned with the smooth and integrated functioning of the State and the Nation.

Programs aimed at the economic improvement of a people impoverished in land and financial resources may be planned for the best usage of remaining resources and their gradual increase, but the people concerned can neither fully accept such programs nor cooperate in them until they understand the culture of their mentors sufficiently to be convinced that such programs are not intended for concealed exploitation, a concept common today. Programs oriented toward improve-

ment of health too frequently are supposed by the people to be merely a plan whereby physicians and hospitals can garner the meager funds of submissive families. The exasperated agency worker may exclaim, "We have done our part; if they won't cooperate, why not leave them to poverty and disease?" But their poverty is an important factor in the economic welfare of the State and Nation as a whole, affecting not only themselves but all the people touched by the extended ramifications of our system of buying and selling, if not of relief. And their health likewise is a factor, through production and consumption, in our over-all commercial system, as well as in relation to such direct health hazards as contagion of disease. Within a nation, even minority and relatively isolated groups can not live entirely to themselves.

Improverished within their own area and suffering from poor health, these people yet can not move out into successful participation in the social and commercial world of the dominant culture because their culture characteristics are too different to be acceptable to most Anglos. Except in individual instances, the people do not yet understand Anglo culture sufficiently to be able to make a really successful adaptation to it. As one of the most practical solutions to the problem, the grammar school program which coordinates the customary studies with a plan for teaching social orientation and improved health within the villages (as well as outside) is proposed not only to educators but likewise to economists, conservationists, and legislators as the background necessary for the success of their own more specific manipulations toward general rehabilitation and prosperity.

THE JULIAN MESSNER AWARD

JULIAN MESSNER, INC., announces that the closing date for submission of manuscripts for the JULIAN MESSNER AWARD FOR THE BEST BOOK COMBATING INTOLERANCE IN AMERICA has been extended from May 15th to August 15th, 1946. So many authors at work on manuscripts to be submitted—among them several ex-servicemen recently returned to civilian life—have written in asking for an extension of time that the publisher decided it was only fair to allow an additional three months for entries. The author of the manuscript winning the award will receive \$6500.00, of which \$5000.00 is outright prize and \$1500.00 advance against royalties. The contest is open to authors of any nationality, previously published writers or new authors. There are no restrictions as to the form a work must take—it may be fiction or non-fiction—or as to length, except that the work must be suitable for publication in book form. The judges of the contest are Clifton Fadiman, Lewis Gannett, and Carl Van Doren. The winning manuscript will be published in the Spring of 1947. Further information or entry blanks may be obtained from Julian Messner, Inc., 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THESES ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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I

IN A number of places attention has been called to the possibilities of social movements as a field of sociological research.¹ This paper is a report of an examination of thirty dissertations in sociology written in seventeen different universities.² The social movements selected by these theses writers cover a wide range of interests: the "Know-Nothing" party, the Urban League, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, the Seventh Day Adventist Denomination, repeal, consumers' cooperatives, the liturgical movement, the D. A. R., the American Socialist Party, workers' education, German youth movements, the American Chatauqua, birth control, Christian Science, the Society of Friends, group health, service clubs, technocracy, the Shakers.

There is no need to recount at this time the scientific values of this field of research. Assuming them, the present intention has been twofold: (1) to learn what analytic categories were employed by students writing in our various graduate schools, categories which, with the aid and cooperation of their faculty advisers, they found useful

and desirable as research devices; (2) to indicate the types and scope of the generalizations which they formulated, either as observations to be tested or as significant statements of relationships, which they may or may not have validated. This review should be, it is felt, of some benefit in further studies of this kind of sociological problem. No attempt is made to evaluate the methods or otherwise criticize these researches.

II

The dissertations may be classified into two decidedly different groups, those using a rather limited set of simple, descriptive categories of analysis, and those using an extensive set of rather elaborate, explanatory concepts.³ The former tend to be historical studies, efforts in specialized social history; they answer the questions what, when, and where. The latter tend to be investigations of historical data in terms of certain prior concepts; the historical data are utilized to illustrate or to test the concepts.⁴ The first group of theses actually have no need of more than a few analytic categories, and those which do appear in the theses could be successfully put to work by any investigator, whether sociologist or not. The second group apparently required a more carefully defined and constructed set of

¹ J. Stewart Burgess, "The Study of Modern Social Movements as a Means for Clarifying the Process of Social Action," *Social Forces*, XXII (March, 1944), 269 ff.; also the present writer's "Revolution as a Field of Social Research," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXV (May-June, 1941), 457 ff.; "An Analysis of Social Movements," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVII (January-February, 1943), 223 ff.; "Behavioral Bases of Social Movements," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVIII (November-December, 1943), 112 ff.

² The present study was aided by a grant from the Northwestern University Social Science Research Council.

³ It made no difference whether the dissertation were a master's or doctor's; some master's theses were descriptive, and some doctor's were explanatory. Sixteen of the theses were submitted for doctoral requirements; fourteen for the master's degree.

⁴ It should be pointed out that with one exception the writers failed to consider in any more than a perfunctory manner the methodological problems involved in the use of historical data.

concepts in order not only to limit the field of inquiry and the methods employed but to afford a "second sight" (insight) into the phenomena observed.

Typical of the analytic categories of the first group of dissertations are these: "origin and growth," "social program," "organization," "group practices and norms," "ideology."⁵ Sometimes the categories seem to have emerged rather naturally out of the problem: "nature and function," "obstacles," "historical changes in economy," "emergence," "social control techniques."⁶ A similar instance is the classification of Germany youth movements (*Bund* and *Verband*; *Wandervogel*, fellowship, and State), or the comparative categories of organizational character (secessionist, charismatic, class, romantic, voluntary, sexual, exclusive).⁷ Sometimes the concepts seem to be merely chronological, as in the thesis on the repeal movement: "ceremonial enforcement," "failure," "repeal propaganda," "repeal organization," "repeal."⁸ Sometimes these concepts appear: "agitational field," "goals," "trend," "membership pattern,"⁹ or "diffusion," "literature," "rôle of leader," "system of belief."¹⁰ This group of theses made what may be called a structural approach to their problem, making use of concepts descriptive of the formal aspects of the movement.

In most of the dissertations using a set of explanatory categories the purpose seems to have been to show how social movements illustrate certain concepts previously selected as significant. Thus, Malamud, taking her cue from Jung's psychology, analyzes two Russian writers, Andreyev and Gorki, who belonged respectively to the earlier and later phases of the Russian revolution.¹¹ The first man wrote in a period when "extraverted tendencies" were repressed; his

writings were a compensatory outlet for the repressed extraversion. Conversely, Gorki wrote during a time when the repressing forces were breaking down, and his writings were a vehicle for aggressive tendencies. Also studying the emergence of the Russian revolution, Morkovin employs the concept, the revolutionary "pattern of mind," which he traces through its successive "periods" and "stages" of "group manifestations."¹² He traces it until it comes to expression in "the organization of group action." Myers investigates the influence of "internal psychic conflict" on the rise of "institutional secession" in the field of religion and politics.¹³ Internal psychic conflict he describes in terms of the "act cycle" approach: conflict is a function of thwarted "consummatory response tendencies." Institutional secession removes the thwart by the formation of a "new environmental situation." The leader is "one who has succeeded in resolving his own internal conflict." Farrington, starting out with a classification of social control techniques,¹⁴ shows their operation in the Russian, French, and American revolutions. Hennig employs Weber's concept of "charisma" in the explanation of the rise of religious sects, as he says, "in the occidental, capitalist, rational civilization."¹⁵ Sheldon describes the "rôle" of "dereistic thinking" in the "institutional formulations" of certain "divergent" religious sects.¹⁶ Also attracted to this subject, Butts uses as his conceptual prism "social variation" through which the phenomena of Shaker society are refracted.¹⁷

Sometimes the analytical categories are complex, quite comprehensive, complete. Marden's study of the luncheon clubs is marked by a very carefully devised classification of concepts descriptive

⁵ E. D. Davis, *Father Divine and His Flock* (M.A. Columbia University, 1937).

⁶ C. L. Hunt, *The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union* (M. A., Washington University, 1937).

⁷ R. C. Schmid, *German Youth Movements* (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1941).

⁸ J. L. Molyneux, *The Repeal Movement* (M. A., University of Virginia, 1938).

⁹ F. M. Vreeland, *The Process of Reform* (Ph. D., University of Michigan, 1929).

¹⁰ N. B. De Nood, *Diffusion of a System of Belief* (Ph. D., Harvard University, 1937).

¹¹ I. T. Malamud, *A Psychological Analysis of Social Crises* (M. A., University of Iowa, 1937).

¹² B. V. Morkovin, *Incipient Revolution in its Personality and Group Aspects* (Ph.D., University of Southern California, 1929).

¹³ E. D. Myers, *Some Effects of Internal Psychic Conflicts on the Rise of Institutional Secessions* (M.A., Northwestern University, 1923).

¹⁴ N. J. Farrington, *Techniques of Revolution* (M.A., Washington University, 1937).

¹⁵ H. Hennig, *The Role of Charisma in the Seventh Day Adventist Denomination, 1844-1915* (M.A., Columbia University, 1940).

¹⁶ H. D. Sheldon, *Role of Dereistic Thinking in the Institutional Formulations of Certain Divergent Religious Sects* (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1932).

¹⁷ C. F. Butts, *The Shakers* (Ph.D., Yale University, 1942).

of the "form" of a social movement.¹⁸ Intra-club and extra-club relationships, status, administration, "bond of union," variation in time and space are divided with abundant illustrations. Meyer ingeniously utilizes rather novel concepts in his investigation of the technocratic movement: "the culture line," "traditions of attention," "immediate carriers" of the culture line, "supporters of the culture line," "mass attenders" of the line, "reaction groups," "continuation groups," "convergence" of the culture line and collective behavior.¹⁹ Kolb makes his study of the peasant in revolution an occasion to put "constructive typology" to work.²⁰ A general peasant type is constructed, with characteristic "states of mind" imputed and "systems of motivation" posited according to procedures stipulated by the methodologists of constructive typology. Validation of the construct is sought by the method of "internal variation" rather than by the method of "variation of the statistical typical."

In general, the nature of the thesis project determines the type and variety of analytic categories employed by the thesis writer. If he proposes to relate and organize the phenomena associated with the rise and activities of the social movement, the concepts are few in number, simply defined, and fairly concrete in reference; concepts are regarded fundamentally as classification techniques, as pigeon-holes for the sorting of data. If the thesis writer essays explanation of the rise and activities of the movement, the concepts tend to be numerous and fairly abstract in character; they often refer, as the semanticists say, to different orders of reality. Classification of phenomena is less important than their interpretation.

III

Sometimes the thesis writer does not concern himself primarily with the formulation of generalizations about the data he has collected. About half of the theses belong to this group. Those which do make generalization a prime consideration do so either as a phase of the testing of an hypothesis (i.e., a generalization) or as empirical findings

with respect to observed relationships among the data. In either case, the thesis is frequently found to abound in provocative, insightful, often very cogent but always very suggestive generalizations. Because they represent, at least in part, the problems of past and probably future research in the field of social movements, it is worthwhile briefly reviewing them. Only three of the many possible types of generalizations which these theses suggest, however, will be discussed.

Studies of social movements are quite frequently directed at the problem of sequence.²¹ About a third of the present group of dissertations consider this question. Thus, Noss's study of resistance to seven social innovations found the following sequence pattern. "Stated in its simplest terms, the pattern of resistance is as follows: When a social innovation first appears in the social order, either as an immanent change or as a proposal made by those who favor it, the initial reaction of the public is likely to be indifference because of a failure to see significance in the innovation. Later, as the public begins to consider the change significant, that is, to build up the relationship between it and other aspects of the social order, opponents of the innovation appear. The first to appear are those who have special interests which they conceive to be threatened by the change. Public debate begins and the opponents tend to band together, supporting each other in the position of resistance which they develop. From this support comes organized resistance . . . Appeals are made to the public, and the significance of the change may increase until it becomes a major public issue, and the indifferent tend to become proponents and opponents of the change. In the cases of this kind the final stage is the disintegration of resistance, and an eventual forgetting of the innovation as a social problem . . ."²²

Morkovin, outlining "the process of incipient revolution,"²³ traced the formation of the pattern

²¹ The present writer classified sequence theories, particularly those of revolutionary social movements, in "Sequence in Revolution," *American Sociological Review*, VI (December, 1941), 702 ff.

²² T. K. Noss *Resistance to Social Innovations* (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1940), p. 240.

²³ *Incipient Revolution, op. cit.*, p. 7: "that evolutionary, preparative stage of overt revolution which germinates and ripens in the minds of the members of an oppositional group which is summoned to succeed the holding of political sovereignty by the group in power."

¹⁸ C. F. Marden, *Rotary and Its Brothers* (Princeton University Press, 1935; Columbia University Ph.D., n.d.)

¹⁹ H. J. Meyer, *Technocracy* (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1937).

²⁰ W. L. Klob, *The Peasant in Revolution* (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1943).

of mind through six stages, grouped into two periods. The first "was filled prevailingly by the process of the formation of the mind of the group of the Incipient Revolution Three stages of this period run from the vague emotional deviation of a few individuals to the creation of the public opinion of the larger layers of the middle class and liberal gentry." The second period is characterized by "surging activity and organization of the group directed to the establishment of a new social order, and unavoidably leading to the mortal combat between the oppositional group and the government."²⁴

Social movements are sometimes viewed in terms of the process (sequence) of institutionalization. Myers describes the process thus: institutional habits, "made up as they are of individual habits, become fixed, and do not readily change. Hence, as changes occur in the institution, in the membership, or in the wider situation, an institution may come to interfere with the activities of the individual or serve to block some of his consummatory response tendencies. Hence there arises a conflict in which the old habit is pitted against the tendency to respond in a different way to a changed stimulus situation In situations in which such conflicts are in process among a group of individuals whose responses are functioning, there is apt to arise among them a leader who has succeeded in resolving his own internal conflict His behavior may take the form of criticism or of open attack upon the particularly obnoxious features of the situation. The impact of his activity may be sufficient to overcome the resistance of the old habit and resolve the conflict in the remainder of the group in such a way that they will seek to adjust or accommodate on some other basis. If the change of attitude involves only a part of those whose activity comprises the situation, the behavior constitutes an 'institutional secession'."²⁵

Molyneux reverses the usual procedure by starting with a hypothetical process pattern, which is called "the political process," and seeks to determine from a single case, the repeal movement, whether the pattern obtains. This process is described as follows: social change, disorganization, unrest, agitation, organization, leadership, issues, conflict, compromise, legislation.²⁶ A more

common procedure, however, is for the writer to periodize his historical data, somewhat in the manner of the professional historian. For example, Stokes does this in an Urban League study: the period of formation, the period of transition, the period of expansion. In these stages the writer observes what is called "the logic of the historical development."²⁷ A similar procedure is followed by Vreeland.²⁸ Henley's examination of the historic rôle of the Quakers in "creative peace-making" notes a sequence pattern.²⁹

Generalizations about the "cause" of social movements reveal grounds which shift from one conceptual level of analysis to another: sometimes economic or psychological or social-psychological or diffusely "sociological." Myers, Morkovin, Sheldon, for example, explain the rise of their social movements in terms of a theory of personality. Kolb conceives of peasant behavior in revolution as "a product of systems of motivation intermingled in varying proportions in different cases." The system of motivation is a compound of "culturally defined aspirations" and "socially structured ends." Meyer's explanation of the technocratic movement belongs to the field of "collective social psychology": he shows how the "culture line" of the movement is subject to "the ebb and flow of public attention and collective activity" while the public considers the movements "culture line" as a possible "definition of the situation." As an instance of general sociological categories employed to explain the emergence of the social movement is Marden's study of the luncheon clubs. Social change is his backdrop. The luncheon club movement is "a phe-

²⁷ A. P. Stokes, *The National Urban League* (M.A., Ohio State University, 1937).

²⁸ Vreeland's study of "the agitational field" of the birth control movement (consisting of four elements, the agitator, competitive agitators, active opposition, interested public) follows the course of the field through inception, agitation, competition, consolidation of forces, public pressure, legislation.

²⁹ D. E. Henley, *The Society of Friends and Creative Peace-making* (Ph.D., University of Southern California, 1935). Henley's summary is terse and dramatic. "First the sensitive soul, then the little group, then the Society! First tentative obedience to conscience, then appeal to the conscience of other, then propaganda! First questioning, then suggestion, and finally loving compulsion" (p. 264).

²⁴ Morkovin, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff.

²⁵ Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

²⁶ Molyneux, *The Repeal Movement*, p. 96.

nomenon of the urban society and the business class."³⁰

There is no necessary reason for the explanatory mode used by the thesis writer. His analytical level is probably an accident of the writer's own training and in part a result of the nature of his subject matter and his purposes. In part, the variety of interpretations of the genesis of social movements³¹ reflects a characteristic aspect of social phenomena, the fact that they can be subsumed, even if not completely, under many formulas. The very inability, however, of the sociologist to develop a methodology or interpretive formula which can do justice to the richness of the phenomenal world is perhaps a commentary either (1) on the barrenness of his conceptual modes, or (2) on the immaturity of his scientific methodology, or (3) on the undefined character of his field of research. Nevertheless, one advantage which the open and fluid nature of his system of methods and concepts makes possible is the wealth of suggestive empirical generalizations which it yields. The sudden, unexpected insights and the roving, restless imagination of sociological research, as disclosed in these theses, make up in provocative thought and novel approach to social reality what it may lack in predictability and exactness (or any other canons of the physical sciences). The empirical generalizations of these writers—their statements of the patterns of social phenomena as they observed them—represent a case in point. They suggest that American graduate dissertations are important sources of sociological theory,

³⁰ Marden elaborates his meaning by reference to such social change items as: distance between office and home, specialization of business, anonymity in business, tempo of modern business life, need for mitigating the competitive struggle, the fact that the defense of business interests requires an ethical justification of the system. Cf. *Rotary and Its Brothers*, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

³¹ The present writer dealt with this problem in "The Roots of Revolution," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXX (September-October, 1945), 27 ff.

sources which have not been widely exploited as yet. The following are cited as examples.

Noss has called attention to the types of group resistance which he found in twenty-one groups: (1) "those who favored the innovation but differed from the successful proponents in the form it should take"; (2) "those who developed independent organizations of their own to defeat the innovation"; (3) "those who were inspired or coerced into opposition by the second group"; (4) "those whose resistance was only incidental or ritualistic while their interests were elsewhere . . ."³² Schmid's classification of "patterns of youth orientation" is extremely suggestive: unidealistic, escapist, cynical, familistic, activated.³³ Butts contributes to the problem of determining whether or not a group is stable the following criteria: numbers, regularly organized program, recognizable individuality in its folkways and mores, some structure for self-regulation and protection, techniques of planning, a central culture complex (or ethos).³⁴ Kolb found the following types of individual deviant behaviors: innovation, ritualism, retreatism, rebellion, and revolution.³⁵ These he describes in terms of the means-ends schema: the first seeks new ends and means; the second the elevation of means; the third renunciation of both ends and means; the fourth partial acceptance of both and partial rejection of both; the fifth new means.

The entire list of thirty theses might be canvassed in this fashion. Perhaps enough has been said to establish the major argument: that research in social movements provides sociology graduates with fruitful problems in method and theory as well as yielding up significant generalizations about collective behavior.

³² Noss, *Resistance to Social Innovation*, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

³³ German Youth Movements, *op. cit.*, p. 16 ff.

³⁴ The Shakers, *op. cit.*, pp. 671 ff.

³⁵ The Peasant in Revolution, *op. cit.*, p. 676.

A STUDY OF THE HONOR GRADUATES OF 94 SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN 1939 AND 1940

RUTH LYNCH KERNODLE

Colleges of William and Mary

NO PICTURE of leadership would be complete without a consideration of leadership for the future. As part of a comprehensive analysis of southern leadership now being made by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina, the preliminary survey presented here is but one unit in the larger study.¹ It is an attempt to approach the problem of potential regional leadership through studying the honor graduates of white institutions of higher education in the South. The inquiry has sought answers to the question, "What is happening to the potential leadership of the South?"

1. What are the major fields of study of these youth? Are we training the cream of our youth for leadership in all fields or are these potential leaders being guided into only a few areas of training?

2. Upon graduation are these youth returning to work in their home communities; in their home State; in the South? Or . . .

3. Are they migrating to other regions thereby draining the South of potential leaders of tomorrow?

4. Of those who are leaving the South, what are their major fields of study, i.e., what skills are we losing?

5. After graduation does the graduate find work in line with his major field of study or does he enter some other line of work?

SCOPE OF STUDY

The southern States included in the study are the eleven which are considered the Southeastern region as delineated by Howard W. Odum in *Southern Regions of the United States*. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

¹ Among others, this study will include: Inquiry into the Pattern of College and University Leadership in the South since 1900, by Leslie W. Syron; The Development of Leadership by Southern Women through Clubs and Organizations, by Margaret N. Price; Southern-born Leaders Outside the South, by Edna C. Cooper; Religious Leadership in the South, by Howard McClain; Comparison of Leaders in Selected States—North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, by Anna Greene Smith; Qualities of Folk Leadership, by George Simpson.—*Editors*.

Honor graduates have been defined to mean the upper ten per cent of the class in scholastic standing. The limitations of choosing the upper ten per cent of honor graduates as representative of potential leadership is fully recognized but it is generally admitted that this is one important measure that can be used in approaching the problem.

The years 1939 and 1940 were chosen as the most recent period immediately preceding the war that was not markedly affected by Selective Service.

Colleges and universities included in the study are those that were accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools as of 1942.

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

Letters were sent to the registrars of 123 four-year white colleges and universities in the Southeast, requesting them to compile a list of the names and major fields of study of the upper ten per cent in scholastic standing of their graduates for each of the years 1939 and 1940. Upon receiving this list from the registrars the information was transcribed to a schedule form and sent to the alumni office of each of the replying institutions with a letter requesting information on place of residence when registered in school and at present, occupation date, marital status of women, and a record of those in the armed services. Follow-up letters were sent to both registrars and alumni secretaries when necessary.

Data susceptible of tabulation and analysis were received from a total of 94 or three-fourths of the 123 possible institutions. These 94 institutions listed a total of 3,082 honor graduates for this two-year period. Table 1 gives this breakdown by States. Virginia is represented by a total of 17 institutions with 406 graduates—the largest State total of institutions. North Carolina is next with 14 institutions with 584 honor graduates, having the largest total number of honor graduates included in the study. Georgia is represented by only eight institutions but it has the second highest number of honor graduates with 408. Similarly Alabama has the third highest number of graduates drawn from only seven schools,

while South Carolina has 298 graduates from 12 institutions. The remaining six States—Florida, Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Louisiana—in that order, are represented in the study by a decreasing number of graduates, with Louisiana having 101 honor graduates from only three institutions. It may be concluded that the data represent a good spread throughout the region, although a few States provided rather meager returns.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS AND NUMBER OF GRADUATES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY OF HONOR GRADUATES OF SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN 1939 AND 1940, BY STATES

STATE	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS	NUMBER OF HONOR GRADUATES
Total.....	94	3,082
Alabama.....	7	399
Arkansas.....	5	129
Florida.....	6	229
Georgia.....	8	408
Kentucky.....	8	146
Louisiana.....	3	101
Mississippi.....	5	156
North Carolina.....	14	584
South Carolina.....	12	298
Tennessee.....	9	226
Virginia.....	17	406

Table 2 analyzes the 94 institutions according to type of institution and number of honor graduates reported. By far the largest single group is the private denominational college which composes over one-third of the total—36 out of the 94 schools. Seven of the eleven State universities are included in the study. It was impossible to obtain information from several of the State universities, but seven out of eleven may be considered a fairly representative sample. There are twelve non-State supported universities included in the study. These include denominational and privately controlled institutions, and in one instance a municipal university. State agricultural and mechanical colleges and polytechnic institutes are represented by eight institutions. The remainder includes ten State teachers colleges, twelve State colleges other than teachers colleges (including two military institutes and a

number of women's colleges, etc.), and nine private non-sectarian colleges.

A characteristic of American higher education is the variety of kinds of institutions. Perhaps as a reflection of the wide freedom of choice in matters personal in a democracy, the American youth in the mid-twentieth century can select for his undergraduate collegiate training an institution large or small, public or private, coeducational or not, sectarian or non-sectarian, military or civilian,

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS AND NUMBER OF GRADUATES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY OF HONOR GRADUATES OF 94 SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN 1939 AND 1940, BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	INSTITUTIONS	HONOR GRADUATES
Total.....	94	3,082
State Universities.....	7	636
Universities (other than State)*.....	12	404
State Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges, Polytechnic Institutes...	8	502
State Teachers Colleges...	10	212
Other States Colleges†...	12	500
Private Denominational Colleges.....	36	667
Private Non-sectarian Colleges.....	9	157

* Includes one municipal university, the rest being privately endowed.

† Includes two military institutes.

professional or general. Each of these types of institutions has its own proponents and each claims certain advantages in leadership training. All must be included in a study of potential regional leadership.

MAJOR FIELDS OF STUDY

The leadership of a region must be drawn from personnel trained in all fields. Balanced regional development makes this imperative. Of obvious importance are the natural sciences and mathematics. Honor graduates in these fields should be the researchers whose work will do much to guide the industrial and agricultural development of the region's resources. The same can be said for engineering, agriculture, commerce and business.

TABLE 3

MAJOR FIELDS OF STUDY OF HONOR GRADUATES OF
94 SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN
1939 AND 1940

MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY	NUMBER	PERCENT
Grand Total of Graduates.....	3,082	100.0
Humanities.....	760	24.7
Art.....	15	0.5
English.....	430	14.0
Fine Arts.....	10	0.3
Languages.....	167	5.4
Music.....	73	2.4
Philosophy.....	17	0.5
Double Major within Humanities Division.....	48	1.6
Natural Sciences and Mathematics..	545	17.7
Biology and Botany.....	84	2.7
Chemistry.....	251	8.2
General Science.....	30	1.0
Geology.....	3	0.1
Mathematics.....	123	4.0
Physics.....	19	0.6
Zoology.....	15	0.5
Double Major within Natural Science Division.....	20	0.6
Social Sciences.....	436	14.1
Economics.....	97	3.1
General Social Science.....	35	1.1
History.....	173	5.6
Political Science.....	41	1.3
Psychology.....	30	1.0
Sociology.....	42	1.4
Double Major within Social Science Division.....	18	0.6
Engineering.....	401	13.0
Aeronautical.....	18	0.6
Architecture.....	15	0.5
Chemical.....	76	2.5
Civil.....	51	1.6
Electrical.....	81	2.6
General.....	22	0.7
Industrial.....	36	1.2
Mechanical.....	65	2.1
Textile.....	24	0.8
Other.....	13	0.4
Education.....	206	6.7
Commerce and Business.....	174	5.6
Agriculture.....	145	4.7

TABLE 3—Continued

MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY	NUMBER	PERCENT
Home Economics.....	116	3.8
Pre-professional.....	95	3.1
Pre-Law.....	49	1.6
Pre-Medicine.....	38	1.2
Pre-Social Work.....	3	0.1
Pre-Theology.....	5	0.2
Other Specialized Fields.....	105	3.4
Library Science.....	11	0.4
Military Science.....	1	*
Pharmacy.....	13	0.4
Physical Education.....	7	0.2
Religion.....	9	0.3
Secretarial Science.....	45	1.5
Veterinary Medicine.....	19	0.6
Double Majors Cutting across Divi- sional Lines.....	99	3.2

* Less than 0.1 percent.

It is encouraging to note in Table 3 that of the cream of the youth graduating from colleges and universities in 1939 and 1940, 17.7 per cent majored in the natural sciences or mathematics, while 13.0 per cent were trained in some field of engineering.

In the former group of natural sciences and mathematics, chemistry accounts for almost one-half and mathematics for one-fourth, followed by biology and botany. A deficiency of honor graduates is suggested for geology, physics, and zoology—a disturbing situation in view of the great potentialities and crying need for developing the mineral and fishery resources of the region. In engineering, the honor graduates are concentrated more largely in chemical, electrical, and mechanical, with civil and industrial following in the order named. In spite of the concentration of the textile industry in the South, textile engineering lags in honor graduates; in spite of the great housing deficiencies in the region, only 15 of these 3,082 honor graduates were trained in architecture.

The study suggests that agriculture with one in twenty-one of these honor graduates is lagging in the development of top flight leadership in a region primarily agrarian. Undoubtedly the generally unattractive income opportunities in Southern farming operate to keep many of the best potential leaders from choosing this field of

study. Also it would appear that commerce and business should attract more than its one in every eighteen of these honor graduates.

Another key area of leadership is in the professions. Here our data as to major field of study are not adequate to indicate how many of these honor graduates have gone into professions. This is discussed later. Here we can only point out that three per cent went through a course of study designed to prepare for later training in law, medicine, social work or theology. Others who majored in various fields for a general education undoubtedly went on to a professional school. With the importance of education in regional development becoming increasingly recognized, one wonders if the 6.7 per cent majoring in education constitutes a fair share for a profession having such a crucial rôle. Again, however, it must be noted that some of those majoring in home economics and agriculture were planning to teach and this is also true of some who majored in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences.

The last twenty years have seen a new recognition of the rôle of the social sciences in regional planning and development. One honor graduate in every seven majored in this field. As would be expected, one-third of these were in the field of history. One-fifth were in economics with less than one-half as many in sociology, political science, and psychology respectively. As planning takes hold in this country, it is to be hoped that economics, political science, and sociology can attract a larger share of the abler students.

Perhaps as a reflection of the South's love for the so-called "finer things of life" but probably more directly related to the American faith in a cultural education, by far the largest group of honor graduates—one-fourth—were found in the humanities. English with 14.0 per cent and languages with 5.4 per cent account for the majority. Music ranks next with 2.4 per cent, while only a handful were found in art, fine arts, and philosophy.

OCCUPATIONAL DATA

Information on nature of employment at present or employment prior to entering the armed forces, in case of service men, was given for 1,494 of the honor graduates or 48 per cent of the total. There are several reasons for this small percentage, the main one probably being the large number of men who went into the armed forces soon after graduation. Incomplete alumni records, due in part to

shortage of help during the war, is also responsible for the incomplete occupational data, as well as the fact that due to the war, the population is a transient one, making it difficult for the alumni office to keep in contact with its graduates.

Table 4 analyzes the available occupational data. The census occupational classification was used as a basis with some modifications and additions.

Of the 3,082 honor graduates studied, 1,421, or 45 per cent, are women. Of the 1,421 over one-half are married—678. Of this group, occupational data were given for only 230 which would seem to indicate that the remaining 448 are not working since marriage. This number is probably substantially smaller since the war emergency has called many women back to work. Occupational data were reported for a total of 708 women, including the 49 in the Armed Services. No record of marital status or of occupation was reported for 260 of the women.

Of the honor graduates for whom information was available, the large majority came under the classification of professional workers. The next largest group was engaged in graduate study, 158. Following in order were clerical, sales and kindred workers, 112; proprietors, managers, officials, 67; government officials, 60; farmers and farm managers, 8; craftsmen and foremen, 5.

Within the professional workers the largest single classification is teachers. A total of 413 is classified as such. Of this group, 148 majored in the humanities, 78 in education, 59 in social science, 45 in science and mathematics, 30 double majors, 25 in home economics, 17 in agriculture, 9 in other specialized fields, and 2 in commerce. The only other classification of unusual size is graduate study. Of this group of 158, the largest major field is science and mathematics with 52. Quite a few of this number are in medical school. The humanities and social sciences had 37 each and the remaining 32 are widely distributed among the remaining fields.

The largest group of the government officials are in work of an agricultural nature. The Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, and county farm agents comprise a group of 14 of which 13 majored in agriculture. Thirteen of the group of government officials were employed by the Office of War Information and other war agencies. Of these, seven were social science majors, five humanities, and

TABLE 4

OCCUPATION OF THE HONOR GRADUATES OF 94 SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN 1939 AND 1940,^{*} BY MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY

OCCUPATION	MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY											
	Total	Humanities	Science and Mathematics	Social Science	Pre-Professional	Agriculture	Education	Home Economics	Commerce	Engineering	Other	Double Major
Total.....	1,494	367	274	227	55	58	101	47	62	205	56	42
Professional workers.....	1,084	281	201	133	38	31	88	38	9	195	30	40
Architects.....	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
Artists and art teachers.....	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Authors, editors reporters.....	32	29	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Chemists, assayers, & metallurgists.....	57	1	51	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Clergymen.....	59	30	2	11	5	0	2	0	0	0	8	1
College administrators.....	9	3	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
College teachers.....	56	13	16	3	0	3	2	1	3	11	2	2
Engineers, civil.....	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	0	0
Engineers, chemical.....	27	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	0	0
Engineers, electrical.....	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	0	0
Engineers, mechanical.....	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	0	0
Engineers, industrial.....	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	0
Engineers, textile.....	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	0
Engineers, other tech.....	25	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	21	0	0
Lawyers and judges.....	29	2	1	10	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Musicians & music teachers.....	20	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laboratory technicians.....	19	1	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Librarians.....	19	10	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1
Pharmacists.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Physicians.....	64	1	45	1	15	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Social and welfare workers.....	31	7	2	18	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
Teachers, n.e.c.....	413	148	45	59	0	17	78	25	2	0	9	30
Trained nurses.....	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Veterinarians.....	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religious workers.....	14	5	1	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
Other professional workers.....	65	7	18	13	0	8	4	11	2	1	0	1
Government Officials.....	60	13	2	15	9	13	3	1	3	0	0	1
Federal Bureau of Investigation.....	11	3	0	0	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Social Security, Civil Service, UCC... FSA, County Agents, USDA, Forest Service.....	11	2	0	5	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Weather Bureau.....	14	1	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
OWI & other War Agencies.....	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Postmasters.....	13	5	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Miscellaneous.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
.....	7	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Proprietors, Managers, Officials.....	67	8	3	13	3	4	4	4	25	3	0	0
Manufacturing.....	5	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
Transportation, communication, pub. util.....	11	1	0	2	0	0	2	2	4	0	0	0
Wholesale.....	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Retail trade.....	12	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	7	0	0	0
Finance, insurance, real estate.....	20	3	2	4	1	2	1	0	6	1	0	0
Business.....	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	0
Other.....	7	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0

TABLE 4—Continued

OCCUPATION	MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY										
	Total	Humanities	Science and Mathematics	Social Science	Pre-Professional	Agriculture	Education	Home Economics	Commerce	Engineering	Other
Farmers and Farm Managers.....	8	1	1	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0
Clerical, Sales and Kindred Workers..	112	27	11	29	0	0	3	3	17	1	21
Bookkeepers, accountants, cashiers..	17	2	3	4	0	0	0	1	6	1	0
Stenographers, typists, secretaries..	68	21	7	10	0	0	2	2	5	0	21
Other clerical workers.....	15	3	1	9	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Insurance agents.....	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Salesmen.....	8	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Craftsmen, Foremen.....	5	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Graduate Study.....	158	37	52	37	5	5	3	1	7	6	4

one commerce major. The Federal Bureau of Investigation employed 11 of the honor graduates of which 7 had taken pre-law undergraduate training so were, in all likelihood, serving the FBI in this field. Social Security, Civil Service, and Unemployment Commission accounted for 11 of the honor graduates with 5 majors in the social sciences and the remaining 6 distributed in several other major fields.

Of the 76 proprietors and managers and officials most of whom were engaged in finance, insurance, real estate, and retail trade, 25 had majored in commerce and business with the second largest group of 13 majoring in the social sciences.

Of the eight reported farmers, five had majored in agriculture. It is indicative to note that of the total of 58 agriculture majors about whom there is occupational data that only 5 are farmers.

Clerical, sales, and kindred workers employed 112 of the total group of 1,084 with the largest group of 68 being stenographers, typists, and secretaries. Of these 112 clerical workers, 29 had majored in the social sciences, 27 in humanities, 21 in other specialized fields (which includes secretarial science), 17 in commerce and business, and the remainder in the various other major fields.

Attention may now be turned to the analysis of the occupations of these honor graduates with reference to their major field of study. For example, information is available for 367 out of the total of 760 humanities majors. Of these 367

the majority are classified as professional workers, 281; 37 are engaged in graduate study; 27 in clerical, sales, and kindred work; 13 are government officials; 8 are proprietors and managers; 1 is a farmer.

Of the 281 professional workers, 148 are teachers, 30 are clergymen, 29 are authors, editors, and reporters, 13 are college teachers and 3 are college administrators; 20 are musicians and music teachers, 3 artists and art teachers, 10 librarians, 7 social workers, 5 religious workers. Unusual cases of humanities majors include one who is now a chemist, one an engineer, two lawyers, one laboratory technician, and one physician.

Information is available for 274 of the 545 science and mathematics majors. Of these, 201 are classified as professional workers, 2 government officials, 3 proprietors and managers, 1 a farmer, 11 clerical workers, 4 craftsmen, and 52 graduate students.

Of the 201 professional workers the largest single group is chemists, of which there are 51; physicians and teachers each have 45; college teachers and laboratory technicians each have 16; clergymen, 2; engineers, 2, 1 lawyer, 1 librarian, 2 social workers, 1 nurse and 1 religious worker, others or miscellaneous, 18.

Information is available for 227 out of the 436 majors in the social sciences. Of these, there are 133 professional workers, 15 government officials, 13 proprietors and managers, 29 clerical and sales workers, and 37 engaged in graduate study.

Of the 133 professional workers, 59 are teachers, 18 are social workers, 11 clergymen, 10 lawyers, 3 librarians, 3 college teachers, 4 college administrators, 5 religious workers, 1 each as architect, author, chemist, engineer, laboratory technician, physician, and nurse, and 13 miscellaneous.

Information was available for 55 of the 95 honor graduates in pre-professional programs. Of the 55, 38 are classified as professional workers (16 lawyers, 15 physicians, 5 clergymen, 1 college administrator and 1 social worker). Of the 9 classified as government officials, 7 are with the FBI (probably lawyers). There are 3 proprietors and 5 graduate students.

Information is available for 58 out of the 145 agriculture majors. Of the 58 there are 31 professional workers (17 of whom are teachers), 13 government officials (of whom 13 are county agents or connected with FSA or the Department of Agriculture), 4 proprietors, 5 farmers, and 5 engaged in graduate study.

Information was reported on 101 out of the 206 education majors. Of the 101 on which information was available 88 are professional workers (78 out of the 88 are teachers), 3 are government officials (2 are postmasters), 4 are proprietors, 3 are engaged in clerical work, and 3 in graduate study.

Information was available on 47 out of 116 home economics majors. Of the 47 there are 38 professional workers, which includes 25 teachers and 11 classified as "others" (includes home demonstration agents, etc.). Four were classified as proprietors, three as clerical workers, and one graduate student.

Information was available on 62 out of 174 commerce and business majors. Of the 62, only 9 were professional workers (3 college teachers, 1 social worker, 2 teachers and 2 "others"). Three are government officials and 25 are proprietors and managers (in business, retail trade, insurance, etc.). One is a farmer. There are 17 clerical workers (largely accountants and bookkeepers), and 7 are engaged in graduate study.

Information was reported for 205 out of the 401 majors in engineering. Of the 205 there are 195 professional workers who are with only a few exceptions engaged in engineering work. Strangely enough, there is one physician who got his degree in engineering and there is also one bookkeeper.

Information is available on 56 out of the 105 majors in other specialized fields. Of the 56 there are 30 professional workers, distributed

among artists, clergymen, college administrators and teachers, and religious workers. There are 21 classified as clerical workers.

Information is available for 42 out of the 99 double majors cutting across division lines. Of the 42 there are 40 professional workers and of the 40 professional workers, 30 are teachers.

MIGRATION

Information on migration was available for 2,577, or 83.6 per cent, of the 3,082 honor graduates of the classes of 1939 and 1940. Of this number 37.3 per cent were reported in the fall of 1944 or the winter of 1945 as residing in the same place as when registered in school. (Failure of alumni records to have up-to-date information may bias this finding to some extent. Also no record of migration could be obtained for 505, or one student in every six. Since data were not available for this group it is probable that they are in general a more mobile group than the rest of the 2,577.) A sizeable group of 22.4 per cent has migrated within the home State since graduation. Migration between southern States accounted for an additional 10.2 per cent. A group comprising 15.0 per cent has left the South since graduation; furthermore, 11.4 per cent came from outside of the region for their education and upon graduation left the South. This makes a total of 26.4 per cent of this group of potential leaders who have been educated in the South and by the South but who did not stay in the region to make their productive contribution. A few may return but it is clear that southern colleges and universities are educating a large group of honor students who will not use their developed talents in the region. A small group of 3.2 per cent whose homes were outside of the South when registered in school are now living in the South. However, there is still a net loss to the region of 23.2 per cent. It would be helpful if a similar study were available for institutions outside the South so that the picture of interregional migration of honor graduates might be complete. It is believed however, that such an inquiry would reveal even more clearly "the drag of talent out of the South."²

At this point an analysis of the regional loss in terms of major fields of study is important. For this purpose two groups, those who have migrated from the South to other parts of the

² Wilson, Gee, "The 'Drag' of Talent out of the South," *Social Forces*, (March, 1937), pp. 343-46.

TABLE 5

MIGRATION OF THE HONOR GRADUATES OF 94 SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES SINCE GRADUATION 1939 AND 1940, BY MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY

MIGRATION SINCE GRADUATION	TOTAL	HUMANITIES	SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS	SOCIAL SCIENCE	ENGINEERING	EDUCATION	COMMERCE AND BUSINESS	AGRICULTURE	HOME ECONOMICS	PRE-PROFESSIONAL	OTHERS	DOUBLE MAJORS
Total	2,577	664	447	359	334	182	145	104	99	81	87	75
No movement	961	282	140	117	111	92	57	32	28	39	26	37
Migration within State	576	139	77	86	30	58	38	47	44	16	21	20
Migration between southern States	263	70	48	33	44	14	9	5	15	3	14	8
Migration to State outside of South	388	76	107	59	67	12	17	10	6	17	12	5
Home outside South when registered in school; still living outside South	293	75	60	53	64	3	17	2	5	5	7	2
Migration from outside the region into South	82	21	12	10	17	2	4	4	1	1	7	3
Deceased	14	1	3	1	1	1	3	4	0	0	0	0

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY

Total	100.0	24.7	17.7	14.1	13.0	6.7	5.6	4.7	3.8	3.1	3.4	3.2
No movement	100.0	29.3	14.6	12.2	11.5	9.6	5.9	3.3	2.9	4.1	2.7	3.9
Migration within State	100.0	24.1	13.4	14.9	5.2	10.1	6.6	8.2	7.6	2.8	3.6	3.5
Migration between southern States	100.0	26.6	18.3	12.6	16.7	5.3	3.4	1.9	5.7	1.1	5.3	3.1
Migration to State outside South	100.0	19.6	27.5	15.2	17.3	3.1	4.4	2.6	1.5	4.4	3.1	1.3
Home outside South when registered in school; still living outside South	100.0	25.6	20.5	18.1	21.8	1.0	5.8	.7	1.7	1.7	2.4	.7
Migration from outside the region into South	100.0	25.6	14.6	12.2	20.8	2.4	4.9	4.9	1.2	1.2	8.5	3.7
Deceased*												

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY MIGRATION

Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No movement	37.3	42.5	31.3	32.6	33.2	50.6	39.3	30.8	28.3	48.1	29.9	49.3
Migration within State	22.4	20.9	17.2	24.0	9.0	31.9	26.2	45.3	44.4	19.8	24.2	26.7
Migration between southern States	10.2	10.5	10.7	9.2	13.2	7.7	6.2	4.8	15.2	3.7	16.1	10.7
Migration to State outside South	15.0	11.4	24.0	16.4	20.1	6.6	11.7	9.6	6.1	21.0	13.8	6.7
Home outside region when registered in school; still living outside South	11.4	11.3	13.4	14.8	19.2	1.6	11.7	1.9	5.0	6.2	8.0	2.6
Migration from outside the region into South	3.2	3.2	2.7	2.8	5.1	1.1	2.8	3.8	1.0	1.2	8.0	4.0
Deceased	0.5	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.5	2.1	3.8	0	0	0	0

* Too few cases for percentage distribution.

country and those whose home has always been outside the South, will be combined. Among these honor graduates lost to the South the highest rate of loss occurs in engineering and in

science and mathematics with 32.7 per cent and 30.7 percent of the honor graduates in these major fields. This means that nearly one-third of the engineering and of the science and math-

ematics honor graduates are not working in the South. This is especially significant in view of the fact that the South so badly needs technically and scientifically trained personnel.

The next highest rate of loss to the region occurs among the honor graduates in the social sciences, followed by pre-professional, commerce, and humanities. The rate of loss is unusually low for education, agriculture, and home economics. Local and regional differences reflected in training in these last three fields obviously are important in keeping these honor graduates in the South.

Another method of analyzing these migration data is to ascertain whether each major field of study is overrepresented or underrepresented in each type of migration. For example, 24.7 per cent of the honor graduates are in the humanities. This figure can be used as a base for analyzing whether a relatively greater or smaller proportion of humanities students falls within the different migration classification. Of the group reporting no movement since graduation, 29.3 per cent were in the humanities. This percentage compared with the base of 24.7 per cent, representing the percentage the humanities group is of the total, shows that a slightly larger than average proportion of honor graduates in the humanities has not moved since graduation. Just about the expected proportion of this group migrating within the State or between southern States or who have always lived outside the South are in this field. However, it is significant that only 19.6 per cent, a large underproportion, of those who migrated to points outside of the South are humanities majors. The humanities majors also comprise approximately the expected proportion of those who have migrated from outside of the region to the South since graduation. In summary, the South has retained a disproportionately large proportion of majors in this field, and those who have remained have been slightly less mobile.

Science and mathematics majors accounted for 17.7 per cent of the total. Of the group reporting no movement only 14.6 per cent were in this field which shows that a slightly smaller than average proportion has gone back to work in the home communities. An even smaller proportion, 13.4 percent, have migrated within their home State. Of those who have migrated between southern States just about the expected proportion are majors in this field. Of the group leaving the South 27.5 per cent were science and mathematics majors. This is, of course, much above the base

proportion in this field, bringing out quite clearly that an unusually large proportion of science and mathematics majors are leaving the South. Also, of the group coming to school in the South from other regions but not remaining, 20.5 per cent are majors in this field. From this we can conclude that of the honor graduates majoring in science and mathematics a smaller than average proportion has gone back to work in the home communities and in the home State and that a relatively large proportion has left the South.

Engineering majors comprise 13.0 per cent of the total. Only 5.2 per cent of the group migrating within their home State were in this field which is an extreme underproportion. Slightly lower than the average proportion returned to their home communities. In contradistinction, 20.8 per cent of the group leaving the South and 21.8 per cent of the group coming from outside of the region to the South for their education but not remaining were in this field. Thus, it is evident that a large number of out-of-region students are obtaining engineering training in the South and that another large group of southern students in engineering is leaving after graduation.

Majors in social sciences comprise 14.1 per cent of the total honor graduates. The proportion of these students in each migration classification is close to this base percentage. The most significant variant is the 18.1 per cent who came from outside the South to study and did not remain.

Pre-professional majors comprise 3.1 per cent of the total. Of the group reporting no movement 4.1 per cent were in this field, showing a slightly larger than average proportion returning to the home communities. An even larger proportion of the group leaving the South, 4.4 per cent, were pre-professional majors. In the groups migrating between southern States and migrating from outside the region to the South, preprofessional majors comprise an underproportion, 1.1 per cent and 1.2 per cent, respectively.

Majors in agriculture comprise 4.7 per cent of the entire group. A relatively large overproportion of those migrating within their home State are majors in this field, 8.2 per cent. Only 1.9 per cent of the group migrating between southern States were agriculture majors and only 0.7 per cent of those coming to school from outside of the region were in this major field, the largest underproportion of any major field. Thus it seems that majors in agriculture most frequently returned to work in their home State and that very few out-of-region

honor students received agricultural training in the South.

There are no outstanding overproportions or underproportions as to migration classification among honor graduates in commerce and business.

Education majors comprise 6.7 per cent of the entire group of honor graduates. A large overproportion of the group reporting no movement, 9.6 per cent, and of the group migrating within the State, 10.1 per cent, were education majors. Nearly three-fourths of the education majors returned to work in their home State after graduation. An extreme underproportion of the group migrating out of the South, 3.1 per cent, and of the group coming from outside of the region, 1.0 per cent, are in this major field. The migration picture of honor graduates in home economics is very similar to that of the education majors.

SUMMARY

In an attempt to approach the problem of potential regional leadership 3,082 honor graduates of 94 white southern institutions of higher education in 1939 and 1940 were studied to find their major fields of study in college, migration since graduation, and present occupational status.

Of the 3,082 honor graduates, 24.7 per cent majored in the humanities, 17.7 per cent in the natural sciences and mathematics, 14.1 per cent in the social sciences, 13.0 per cent in engineering, 6.7 per cent in education, 5.6 per cent in commerce and business, and less than 5.0 per cent each in pre-professional agriculture, home economics, and other specialized fields.

Information relative to the nature of present

employment was available for 1,494 of the 3,082 honor graduates. A large majority of these was classified as professional workers, including school teachers (comprising by far the largest single group), clergymen, physicians, engineers, social and welfare workers, and others in lesser numbers. A rather sizeable group of 158 was engaged in graduate study. The remainder were classified as clerical, sales, and kindred workers; proprietors, managers, and officials; government officials; farmers; and craftsmen, in that order.

Information on migration was available for 2,577 of the honor graduates. A large group comprising 37.3 per cent returned to work in their home communities following graduation and an additional 22.4 per cent returned to their home State but to a different community. Migration between southern States accounted for an additional 10.2 per cent. A group of 15.0 per cent have left the South since graduation; furthermore 11.4 per cent came from outside of the region for their education and upon graduation left the South. This makes a total of 26.4 per cent of this group of potential leaders who have been educated in the South but who did not remain in the region to make their productive contribution. An analysis of the major fields of this loss reveals that the region has lost nearly one-third of the science and mathematics majors in this selected group of honor graduates and a like proportion of engineering majors. The next highest rate of loss to the region occurs in the social sciences, followed by pre-professional, commerce, and the humanities. The rate of loss is unusually low for education, agriculture, and home economics.

NOTE FROM GERMANY

The first post-war, post-Nazi meeting of German Sociologists took place at Bad Godesberg, April 5-6. About 40 persons were present, representing the 3 western Zones and the Universities of Bonn, Cologne, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Mainz, Marburg and Munster. Presiding was Leopold von Wiese, probably the only remaining German sociologist known abroad. The Rectors of Bonn and Cologne were also present as well as two interested industrialists. The only non-Germans were a Swiss journalist and the undersigned. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie was formally reconstituted, with von Wiese as President. A first congress of the Society was scheduled for late summer, in Frankfurt, with the general title "Gegenwartsaufgaben der Soziologie in Deutschland." Liaison men with occupation authorities were designated for the four Zones, Dr. Heinrich Saueremann of Frankfurt for the American. Dr. E. Y. Hartshorne, Higher Education Officer in Military Government for Greater Hesse (including Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Giessen und Marburg) was invited to serve as channel for contacts with the U. S. With scant resources available, both in personnel and literature, it was decided to concentrate on two centers, Cologne for the British Zone and Frankfurt for the American. It was generally agreed that training in sociology could play an important role in German "re-education." Two subscriptions each to the principal sociological journals, as well as copies of other significant publications in the field would be a great help in overcoming the enforced provincialism of the past twelve years. Dr. Hartshorne will give a course at Frankfurt University during the coming term on "American Sociology," and would appreciate receiving new publications. Address: 2d Mil. Gov. Bn (Sep), Det E-6, APO 633, % Postmaster, N. Y. Publications may be sent to Col. James H. Shoemaker, Office of Provost Marshall General, Military Government Division, Munitions Bldg., Washington, D. C. (marked "For Education Section, Berlin, attention Hartshorne").

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A SOCIAL PERCEPTION TEST: A NEW APPROACH TO ATTITUDE RESEARCH*

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I

A. INTRODUCTION. The proposed technique constitutes an attempt to apply the principles developed in the study of individual pathology to the phenomena of social pathology: that is to the disturbances in group relations manifest in the business of living together. One of the major developments in the comprehension of individual illness was the introduction of projective techniques. These recent clinical tools utilize to the fullest extent the mechanism of projection. By the concept of projection, discovered by the psychoanalysts to be a basic, yet universal personality function, we mean the attributing of attitudes, wishes, needs, beliefs of the individual to an external medium, the character of which does not significantly influence this process. In this manner the clinicians have been able to diagnose and understand the dynamics of the individual's structurization of the world without the subject at all aware of the nature and importance of the material he was providing. For the first time scientists had access to the inner life of people, which had hardly been revealed by previous methods. The most promising work in this direction has been the development of the Thematic Apperception Test by Henry Murray and his co-workers at the Harvard Clinic. This test has its justification in the tendency of people to interpret an ambiguous human situation in conformity with past experiences and present wants . . .¹ Thus a phantasy composed around a picture will reveal "some of the dominant drives, emotions, sentiments, complexes and conflicts of a personality."² The knowledge of this universal autistic tendency among humans will be helpful in clarifying problems in the social field, particularly as a contribution to the understanding to the meaning and operation of attitudes. We will, therefore, have to provide a social medium for the subject which will enable him to project his latent and manifest

attitudes. Especially important in the construction of this test is to provide an unstructured situation apart from the subject which will not be recognized as implying any self involvement.

Many projective techniques have made use of the known interrelation between visual reorganization of an ambiguous field and internal need patterns.³ It is our plan to investigate the mechanism of social attitudes by means of a visual projective test. This test will consist of a *series of pictures dealing with all areas of social interaction* with particular emphasis on intergroup relations, such as Negro-white and Jew-Christian relationships. A variety of social situations will be utilized in an endeavor to obtain whole syndromes of attitudes. Our underlying assumption is that people confronted with a situation involving human relationships will immediately structure this situation in accordance with their basic attitudes.

B. ADVANTAGES OF THE S.P.T. We would like to emphasize some of the benefits gained by the use of this visual Social Perception Test, and also point to the advisability of using it in *conjunction with the interview technique*, as a complementary tool

1. *Lack of verbalization capacity.* In interviewing an inability on the part of the subject to articulate adequately his feelings and beliefs is often noticed. This is especially true of those with a minimum of education, also the foreign-born, and children below a certain age. Since the visual approach is on a lower level of organization and the verbal requirements are lessened, this difficulty is not encountered. (The traditional questionnaire is subject to the same limitations.)

2. *Interviewee's resistance.* There is unwillingness on the part of the subject to admit certain sentiments and feelings in the course of the interview, and on the questionnaire (sometimes even to himself).

* We would like to express our gratitude to Professor Gardner Murphy for stimulating our thinking along these lines.

¹ Henry A. Murray, *T. T. T. Manual*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943) p. 1.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Levine, Chein, and Murphy, *Journal of Psychology*, 13 (1942), 283-293. In this article the influence of an experimentally controlled hunger need on the perception of ambiguous objects, tachistoscopically presented, was observed. The internal need was a major factor in determining perception.

3. *Attention focussed on subject.* In the interview and questionnaire the individual tends to feel "on the spot," that is he feels himself identified with his attitude. Perhaps, it is on this point that the value of the projective technique is most clearly defined. It lies in the nature of the projective method that the interpretation of the medium does not imply involvement of the subject.

Some of the other advantages of the S.P.T. lie in its greater flexibility and in the fact that it minimizes the variations between interviewers (the interviewer approaches a constant).

The S.P.T. can be supplemented by depth interviews focussing upon the significant material as revealed by it. In this manner much time is saved in discovering crucial areas of conflict which can then be explored further by intensive interviewing. Thus, the well known advantages of the interview method are utilized while some of the above mentioned disadvantages are largely negated.⁴

II

A. HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM. In searching for literature with reference to our problem we found several instances of research which had received its impetus from the desire to apply projective methods of measurement to the study of attitudes. We should like to examine the differential emphases in the various approaches; give a short account of each of them and show wherein our work differs and distinguishes itself from these other attempts. Particularly we shall refer to the work of Proshansky,⁵ Horowitz,⁶ and Murphy and Likert.⁷ Proshansky used ambiguous pictures in order to determine pro and anti-labor views. Stories written as interpretations of the pictures were rated by judges on a 5 point scale for pro and anti-labor sentiments. Proshansky compared his findings to the Newcomb scale on attitudes and found rather high correlations (.67 and .87). His results though promising suffer

⁴ This is an abbreviated condensation of "A brief note on the advantages of projective methods in attitude research," by Loebowitz-Lennard and Frank Riessman, (Unpublished Ms.).

⁵ Harold Proshansky, Master's Essay (Columbia University, 1942).

⁶ Eugene L. Horowitz, "The development of the attitude toward the Negro," *The Archives of Psychology* 28 (1935-36).

⁷ Gardner Murphy and Rensis Likert, *Public Opinion and the Individual*.

from his complete reliance on the rating method. *He did not devise universal categories to objectify the analysis of the stories.*

Horowitz presented pictorial material to children and recorded their responses to the standardized Negro-white situations which he set up. He used three types of tests, called the "Ranks," the "Show Me," and the "Social Situations Test." The third test seems to warrant some discussion at this point. "The purpose of the Test was to discover whether children would reject participation in an activity because of the inclusion of a Negro."⁸ Horowitz goes on to say that "the task for the child on this test was to look at each picture (representing a variety of play and home situations), separately, each in its turn, and report whether or not he wanted to join in with them and do what they are doing along with them. The children had the option of saying 'Yes', 'No', or registering an indeterminate attitude. The test was scored by assigning points on the basis of desire to participate . . ."⁹ As can be seen from this description, Horowitz intentionally limits the type of response, uses a non-ambiguous medium, thus *not* encouraging much projection or interpretation on the part of the subject.

Murphy and Likert comprehensively employed a great number of methods to arrive at a comparative view of their relative value in attitude research. Among the many tested two interest us for the purpose of this paper. They consist in the presentation of motion pictures and photographs, the reactions to which were used in the measurement of attitudes. After the motion pictures were shown the students were given three minutes in which to write an evaluation, then were asked a series of questions of their reactions to the film. In the photographic method a series of photographs of conflict situations (most of them taken from news services on violent conflicts) were shown and the affective reactions (likes, dislikes, angers, exciting, depressing, etc.) recorded. A limitation of this visual approach to attitude measurement lies in the use of too well structured situations and its inadequate provision for free projective interpretation. The reaction to a picture is inevitably bound up with its interpretation by the individual.

Other visual approaches to the problem of attitudes, however focussing on different aspects

⁸ See footnote 6, p. 10.

⁹ See footnote 6, p. 11.

than our work, include L. B. Murphy's study of children's sympathy,¹⁰ Schwartz's¹¹ use of pictures in psychiatric interviews with delinquents.

B. METHODS OF PROCEDURE (including general methods). As mentioned previously we are going to employ ambiguous, unorganized pictures dealing with all phases of social interaction. The subject is asked to interpret or build a story around these pictures. It is most important to have him extend his story over the past, present and future (this gives us a more complete projection).

This test can be used with individuals, small groups (2 or 3) or large groups, depending upon the immediate exigencies. For an abbreviated analysis of the major social themes (motifs) of specific large groups, we shall use the recall technique.¹² This technique first applied in group administration of the Thematic Apperception Test seems to indicate that in recall the significant material will tend to crystallize out. (The instructions are: recall the pictures in one or two sentences.)

To get at the meaningfulness of a particular interpretation for an individual or small group the mechanism of "reinforcement" will be very useful.¹³ "It would seem that once the subject has perceptually organized the situation in terms of his own needs, he is forced to defend his organization under social pressure. In this defense of the previously conceived story a great deal of new material is uncovered which is of considerable value for further diagnosis." Because of the mechanism employed we have chosen to call this phenomenon "reinforcement," meaning simply that the subject's original interpretation is *reinforced* in the subsequent group discussion. In the actual usage of this technique we would have two or perhaps three individuals (sociometrically selected for their dissonant interpretations) discuss their respective social perceptions together. (The experimenter will encourage them to contest their

¹⁰ L. B. Murphy, *Social Behaviour and Child Personality* (1937).

¹¹ L. A. Schwartz, "Social Situation Pictures in the Psychiatric Interview," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 2 (1932) pp. 124-133.

¹² Henry Loebowitz-Lennard and Frank Riessman, "Recall in the Them. App. Test., *Character and Personality* (September 1945).

¹³ Henry Loebowitz-Lennard and Frank Riessman, "A note introducing the 'reinforcement' phenomenon in the T.A.T.," to be published in *Journal of Clinical Psychopathology*.

stories.) The great value of this method (if adequately perfect) would be that it could serve as an indicator of these three factors: source of the interpretation, kind of unconscious supporting material revealed, depth of attitude uncovered. A variation of this method would consist in planting a "dummy" interviewee to stimulate focussed reinforcement in specific areas.

C. METHODS OF ANALYSIS. Particular emphasis must be placed upon proper selection and delineation of categories which will enable us to classify and evaluate the content and meaning of our data. The categories which we have chosen for a primary, exploratory analysis have been experimentally selected to provide us with a maximum understanding of the stories (which are a reflection of the attitude structure of the individual in terms of perception). As soon as a wider range of data is available we shall redefine and reevaluate the present categories and add new ones more adequate in dealing with problems arising out of the material.

CATEGORIES FOR ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL PERCEPTION

1. Roles

- A. Stereotype—Non-Stereotype (individual)
Types of stereotypes
- B. Structured—Unstructured (specific vs. general)
- C. Passive—active
Submissive—dominant
Aggressive—Non-aggressive

2. Types of Relationship

(Quality of interpersonal relationship perceived)

- A. Conflict
 - (1) Violent—Non-violent (physical vs. verbal)
 - (2) Latent—Overt
 - (3) Source (of conflict)
- B. Non-Conflict
 - (1) Degree of Social Distance
 - (2) Cooperation
 - (3) Neutrality
- C. Primary Group Relationship (*Gemeinschaft*)
- D. Secondary Group Relationship (*Gesellschaft*)

3. Sphere or Area of Interaction

(total context in which inter-personal relationships take place)

- A. Economic Sphere
- B. Social (including sexual)
- C. Political

SUPPLEMENTARY METHODS OF ANALYSIS

4. Story Analysis

- A. Plot (recurrent or dominant themes)
- B. Outcome
 - (1) Tragic—Happy—Undecided
- C. Character identified with
 - (1) Leading or Misleading Identification (in terms of subject's actual life situation)

5. Formal Analysis¹⁴

- A. Types of Language, Syntax, Style
- B. Observational Omissions

6. Graphic Analysis

(we intend to chart)

- A. Role Distributions (of different groups)
- B. Sphere Perceptions (of different groups) (to discover differential group patterns)

7. Analysis in Terms of Symbols

- A. Perception in Terms of Recurring Symbols (for example in our data the Negro was often seen as "bearer of bad news")
- B. Use of Psychoanalytic Symbols

The above categories, are of course, not mutually exclusive but form overlapping constellations.

D. HYPOTHESES AND PROBLEMS. To establish the validity of our procedure we shall first attempt to substantiate and *enlarge upon* certain existing hypotheses concerning the formation, detection, operation, and change of attitudes. We have also formulated a number of new hypotheses and specific problems to be investigated by our procedure.

1. *Existing Hypotheses* (in relation to our validating procedure in terms of the S.P.T.)

Hypothesis No. I. The Scapegoat Hypothesis in Social Psychology. Gordon Allport¹⁵ defines "scapegoating as a phenomenon wherein some of the aggressive energies of a person or group are focussed upon another individual, group or object; the amount of aggression and blame being either partly or wholly unwarranted." In other words a definite relation has been formulated between the degree of individual frustration and dissatisfaction on the one hand and generalized negative attitudes

toward different ethnic groups (individuals, etc.) on the other hand.

Validating procedure to test Hypothesis No. I. Using the Social Perception Test the relationship between the individual's frustration (momentary or permanent) and the tendencies of scapegoating can be demonstrated. The range of interpretation which would denote scapegoating will include such variables as conflict, violence, aggression, etc. For example: In Lewin's work¹⁶ on patterns of aggression we would expect to find considerably more aggression in the analysis of the social perception of the authoritarian group than in the democratic group. This difference will be accentuated in the interpretation of pictures dealing with Negro-white, Jew-Christian interaction. This would constitute a validation of the effects of temporary frustration by means of the S.P.T. and would also provide additional material for a more precise understanding of the mechanism of scapegoating.

Hypothesis No. II. Effective propaganda alters behaviour, not merely verbal response, over a considerable period of time.

Validating procedure to test Hypothesis No. II. The S.P.T. will show the effect of intelligent propaganda in specific instances. The Social Perception will change as a corollary to actual, behavioural changes. If this can be validated the process can be reversed in the future. *Propaganda, education, and events* which alter social perception, as measured by the S.P.T. can be *expected (predicted)* to have a similar effect on behaviour.

2. *New Hypotheses*

Hypothesis No. III. The actions of a member of a different ethnic group will be judged according to preconceived standards (internal predispositions) in regard to this ethnic group (Negro in Situation X will be *judged differently* from white in Situation X). This judgement will *vary in accordance with pro and anti Negro attitudes*.

Validating procedure to test hypothesis No. III.

Our approach will lie in a comparison of the perception of identical pictures, varying only color or index of cultural affiliation of one of the characters depicted in the picture. We can then see differences among various groups in regard to the *altered* perception of the whole situation. We

¹⁴ See footnote, no. 1, p. 18; also Balken and Massermann.

¹⁵ Gordon W. Allport, *The ABC's of Scapegoating*, Y.M.C.A. publication.

¹⁶ Lewin, Lippitt, and White, "Patterns of Aggression Behaviour in Experimentally Created Social Climates" (*Journal of Social Psychology*, 1939), p. 10.

can furthermore distinguish attitude stratification within certain groups—the overt anti-Negro subjects as revealed by previous interview will show marked differences as demonstrated by analysis of their stories from pro-Negro subjects (analysis in terms of the previously outlined categories).

Hypothesis No IV. Potential participators in group violence may be detected by this test (anti-semitism detector, potential fascist det.).

Validating procedure to test Hypothesis No. IV. A specific constellation of factors in the perception will be used as index (quantitative danger points might be set up) of potential participation in group violence. Analyses of the stories of the subject in terms of the hero's conflicts, leading and misleading identifications, and the quality of his participatory behaviour would be the crucial variables.

3. *Special Problems* (which can be investigated by the S.P.T.)

1. *The attitude image of various groups toward themselves.*

A. To what extent is a negative attitude (held by society) toward a minority group *internalized* by that group and how does it effect its self-perception?

B. Along which lines do marginal members identify and perceive themselves and their groups?

2. What are the major field forces in determining attitude stratification (religious, national, socio-economic), and how do they operate in determining stratification?

3. *Will a break-down of the stories into different areas of inter-action* (social, economic, political—Cat. 3) *reveal significant group and individual*

differences? Will, for instance, all the conflict interpretations be located in *one* specific sphere for a particular group? Will the outcomes of the stories *consistently* vary in terms of spheres? To make this problem more explicit: We believe that analysis in terms of the above mentioned cross-relationships will provide us with the *raison d'être* of attitudes.

A. Varying degrees of social distance in the different areas.

B. In what areas is conflict perceived? For which group?

C. Which areas permit identification with a minority group?

4. We will investigate the relationship between observational omissions (Cat. 5b), and degrees of prejudice as an indicator of blocked perception, and consequent behaviour.

E. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF PART 1 AND 2.

1. This is a projective test dealing with the problem of attitudes which can serve as an *Anti-Attitude detector* (anti-semitism, anti-Negro).

2. The S.P.T. provides us with a means for discovering and understanding *Group Themes*, (environmental and self-perceptions held in common by a group), or what Gardner Murphy¹⁷ calls "Socially Shared Autisms."

3. Insight can be gained into the meaning and operation of *Latent and Covert* attitudes in perception.

4. The Social Perception Test enables us to analyze the value of effective education in altering perception and behaviour.

¹⁷ Gardner Murphy, "The Freeing of Intelligence," *The Psychological Bulletin*, 42, (January, 1945), p. 9.

AMERICAN RED CROSS

Dr. G. Foard McGinnes, medical director of the American Red Cross, has been named vice chairman in charge of the newly-established Office for Health Services, Red Cross Chairman Basil O'Connor announced recently. The new office groups together all Red Cross services relating to health and medical activities: the office of the medical director, the nursing, nutrition and disaster medical services, and first aid, water safety and accident prevention, it was explained.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

NUMBER 4

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO TEACHERS AND SPECIALISTS IN THE FIELD OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY*

ERNEST R. GROVES

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SINCE the last bibliography there has been a marked decrease in the publication of books in the field of marriage and the family but those that have appeared have averaged high in quality. The books selected for this list have been classified in three groups: (1) Books for the general reader and texts; (2) Books recommended as reference material in family and marriage courses and for specialists; (3) Background material.

BOOKS FOR THE GENERAL READER AND TEXTS

Popular literature

Bundesen, Herman N. *The Baby Manual*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1944. 590 pp. \$3.00.

A practical guide from early pregnancy through the second year replete with information and good sense. Most readers will consider it the best book of its kind yet printed.

Davis, Maxine. *Woman's Medical Problems*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945. 220 pp. \$2.00.

A popular presentation of medical knowledge of concern to women.

Dicks, Russell L. *Pastoral Work and Personal Counseling*. New York: Macmillan, 1945. 227 pp. \$2.00.

Written for clergymen much of this discussion is concerned with marriage and family counseling.

* A reprint may be had by forwarding fifteen cents to Dr. Katharine Jocher, SOCIAL FORCES, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Reprints of Bibliographies Numbers 1, 2, and 3 also may be ordered until the few remaining copies are exhausted.

Finke, Charles H. *Attention! Girls*. Boston: The Meador Press, 1945. 102 pp. \$1.50.

This is a book of counsel for young girls dealing with courtship, methods of attracting men, ways of developing personality and eliminating habits the author considers detrimental. It is very conservative.

Gesell, Arnold. *How a Baby Grows*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. 78 pp. \$2.00.

This is a new kind of book illustrating the development of the infant by means of pictures. It will prove helpful to every parent who seeks to understand the growing child.

Groves, Ernest R. *Conserving Marriage and the Family*. New York: Macmillan, 1944. 138 pp. \$1.75.

This is an attempt to extract emotion from those considering divorce and to help them meet intelligently their marriage problems.

Leonard, Margaret. *Health Counseling for Girls*. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1944. 131 pp. \$1.50.

This is written for adolescent girls for the purpose of helping them improve physically and to make good adjustment emotionally and socially in the common problems they have to meet. The material is presented by means of interviews revealing how necessary it is for teachers and physicians to seek out underlying causes of health problems which too often are handled detached from individual situations and personality traits. The second part of the book is a valuable discussion of health counseling as part of a total school program.

Mace, David R. *Does Sex Morality Matter?* London: Rich and Cowan, 1944. 157 pp. \$1.25.

This English publication has for its thesis that the existing state of chaos of sexual morality demands

recognition of the essential nature of sex, its purpose in human life and its functioning so as to promote and secure social welfare.

Mitchell, Theodore G. *Life Begins with Marriage*. Chicago: Dearborn, 1944, 233 pp. \$2.75.

This book means to help the reader achieve happiness in marriage. It is simply written and presents orthodox attitudes and information. There is more inclusion of the personal opinion of the author than is usually true of such books.

Novak, Emil. *The Woman Asks the Doctor*. 2d ed. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1944. 130 pp. \$1.50.

This is a second edition of a book that has demonstrated its value. Written by a foremost specialist it nevertheless presents its information in a readable form. It is up to the moment in its science. There is at present no better book of its type. Those familiar with the first edition will notice the more cautious statement concerning virgin pregnancy (p. 26). This is not a book for a spinster librarian to keep locked away from general use. It deserves to be made available for any reader who is married or expects to be married aside from those who will object to the general information given concerning contraception in the last chapter.

Steiner, Lee R. *Where Do People Take Their Troubles?* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1945 pp. \$3.00.

This is an important book and should have wide circulation. It reveals one of the most hurtful of all methods of exploiting the ignorance and superstitions of men and women. It shows how greatly we need the profession of marriage counseling with ethical standards equal to that of the physician, regulated and guarded by law. Students taking marriage courses should be led to read this book.

Texts

Bernard, Jessie. *American Family Behavior*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942. 564 pp. \$3.50.

This is a sociological analysis of the family. It gives the nature of primary groups and institutions, the functions of the family, and in a highly original way tests the American family as to its reproductive and protective functions, socialization and affection functions, its regulative function as revealed in institutional norms and its regulative functions as shown in institutionalizing family behavior. There is a valuable discussion of the theory of the parent-child relationships and the problems and opportunities of marriage.

Burgess, Ernest W. and Locke, Harvey J. *The Family*. New York: American Book, 1945. 800 pp. \$4.25.

The secondary title of this book "From institution to companionship" reveals its distinctive approach. The mere size of the book discloses the rapid development that has occurred in the study of the family and the delivery of information concerning domestic experience through texts and college courses. The

material is influenced by students who have elected courses of the authors at the University of Chicago and at Indiana University. Part One is concerned with the family and social change and Part Two with the family and personality development. The book stresses the family as a unity of interacting persons and the effect of the family upon the personality development of its members and the adjustment of the family to social changes.

Duvall, Evelyn M. and Hill, Reuben. *When You Marry*. New York: Association Press, 1945. 450 pp. \$3.00.

This is both a text and designed for popular reading. The discussion is divided into two parts; anticipating marriage, and what it means to be married. Bountifully illustrated by charts and pictures, it draws richly from the experience of the two authors.

Elmer, M. C. *The Sociology of the Family*. New York: Ginn, 1945. 520 pp. \$3.75

As the title of this book indicates it is not a guide book for parents or for the married but a discussion of the family as a social institution. The family is conceived of as the most significant of our social organizations. Family experience is interpreted against the background of our changing social order.

Family Life Bureau. *The Family Today. A Catholic Appraisal*. Washington, D. C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1944. 163 pp.

A series of papers discussing contemporary American family life with emphasis upon Catholic principles and ideals valuable both for its authoritative interpretation of the Catholic viewpoint and for its contribution to an understanding of the domestic problems of modern life.

Foster, Robert G. *Marriage and Family Relationships*. New York: Macmillan, 1944. 314 pp. \$2.50.

This book seeks to encourage self-understanding and social insight as a preparation for marriage and family life. It is practical in its approach and takes up the most common problems which people face when they marry and become parents. The book profits from the counseling experience of the author. It encourages the thinking of the students and is certain to promote frank discussion in the classroom. The fourth part of the book discusses the social aspects of marriage and the family under the title "The Family and Democratic Society."

Landis, Paul H. *Adolescence and Youth*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945. 470 pp. \$3.75.

This is a new type of text seeking to help the adolescent know himself and his problems. The information science has gathered concerning adolescence usually appears in books for teachers and parents to understand young people. Here it is brought together and put in such form as to appeal to the young person himself. If the book is not used as a text for teen-age

boys and girls it should be given emphasis as a reference in every high school library.

Williams, Jennie. *Family Health*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1945, 561 pp. \$3.50.

This college text applies medical knowledge to the health problems of the family. Part I is concerned with maintaining the health of the family, and Part II with preparing the potential homemaker to meet illnesses and accidents. It is a splendid gathering of health information and should be in the reference library of every marriage or family course.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED AS REFERENCE MATERIAL IN FAMILY AND MARRIAGE COURSES AND FOR SPECIALISTS

Benedek, Therese and Rubenstein, Boris. *The Sexual Cycle in Women*. Washington: National Research Council, 1942. 307 pp. \$3.50.

A very detailed and technical study of the ovarian function of women as it is related to emotional behavior and the structure of personality. Emphasis is placed upon the endocrine and psychoanalytic interpretation. A source book for the specialist.

Calhoun, Arthur W. *A Social History of the American Family*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1945, 1125 pp. \$7.50.

A republishing in one volume of the previous edition that appeared in three and was out of print. At present the only complete history of the American family from the colonial period to that preceding the Second World War. A needed book in every reference library.

Commission on Teacher Education. *Helping Teachers Understand Children*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1945. 468 pp. \$3.50.

Although written for teachers this is a useful book for students of child life and the American family. The significance of the home environment is recognized especially in the third chapter, "Seeing the Child as a Member of a Family."

Corner, George W. *Ourselves Unborn*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944, 188 pp. \$3.00.

Technical in character this book stresses an aspect of human experience heavily underestimated. Its thesis appears in its first sentence: "When a man is born he is already nine months old."

Cushman, Ella M. *Management in Homes*. New York: Macmillan, 1945. 285 pp. \$3.75.

This book familiar to home economists can be recognized as an important contribution by all students and instructors in the field of the family. Very practical.

Dennis, Wayne. *The Hopi Child*. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1940. 204 pp. \$2.50.

A cultural investigation of the Hopi child based upon observational study of child care and child behavior.

Deutsch, Helene. *Psychology of Women. Volume II*.

New York: Grune and Stratton, 1945. 498 pp. \$5.00.

Volume Two deals with the social and biological aspects of motherhood including unmarried, adoptive mothers, and stepmothers. An application of the Freudian system, original and unusually stimulating, indispensable to serious students.

Du Bois, Cora. *The People of Alor*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944. 653 pp. \$7.50.

A social and psychological study of the people of an East Indian island with special attention to infancy, early childhood, later childhood, adolescence, marriage, and sex. It contains fascinating autobiographies the meaning of which are summarized by the author. A valuable source book.

Engle, Earl T. *The Abortion Problem*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1944. 182 pp. \$2.50.

An authoritative report of a conference on the abortion problem held under the auspices of the National Committee for Maternal Health. Although directed to the physician this is a book that the advanced student in marriage and the instructor needs to know.

Fenichel, Otto and others. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*. New York: International Universities Press, 1945. 423 pp. \$6.00.

A series of articles on the child from the birth experience to juvenile delinquency.

Freud, Anna and Burlingham, Dorothy. *Infants without Families*. New York: International University Press, 1944. 128 pp. \$2.00.

An English product born of war experience. An attempt to appraise objectively the functions of a residential nursery as they affect the development of children.

Gesell, Arnold. *The Embryology of Human Behavior*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. 289 pp. \$5.00.

The significance of this book appears in its secondary title: "Beginnings of the human mind." It is richly illustrated and basic to the understanding of the infant.

Goldstein, Sidney E. *Marriage and Family Counseling*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945. 475 pp. \$3.50.

Very helpful for all those interested in counseling service. Indicating the need for reputable, scientific counseling, it discusses pre-marital counseling, family counseling, and counseling in practice. It lists the most important organizations seeking to conserve marriage and the family. It is a book that should be on every reference shelf.

Groves, Ernest R. *The American Woman*. 2d ed. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1944. 465 pp. \$3.50.

A new edition of the history of American women up to the period of the Second World War.

Hotchkiss, Robert S. *Fertility in Men*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1944. 216 pp. \$3.50.

An excellent summary of our present knowledge of the causes of male infertility, a discussion of methods of examination and treatment. We have no better book on this subject. It is clear, authoritative, and in accord with science.

Kruij, Paul de. *The Male Hormone*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945. 237 pp. \$2.50.

A popular summary of recent advances in the scientific knowledge of the male hormone. Enthusiastic; considered too much so by some medical authorities.

League of Nations. *Prevention of Prostitution*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. 182 pp. \$1.20.

A concise statement but one of the most understanding discussions ever published.

Macmillan, Arthur Tarleton. *What is Christian Marriage?* London: Macmillan, 1944. 146 pp. \$2.00.

A source book on the history of marriage and divorce after Christianity. The latter especially concerned with its reformation as it influenced English Ecclesiastical Law. The present situation of marriage under English law and the teaching of the established church. A scholarly treatment. Along side of it should be placed Charles E. Smith's *Papal Enforcement of Some Medieval Marriage Laws* listed in a previous bibliography.

Miller, Frances S. and Laitem, Helen. *Personal Problems of the High School Girl*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1945. 433 pp. \$2.50.

A text in the field of home economics which should be available for student courses especially at the high school level.

Reik, Theodore. *Psychology of Sex Relations*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945. 243 pp. \$3.00.

This book emphasizes the difference between the sex drive and love, an idea the author wrongly thinks his personal discovery. This distinction has long been recognized by students of marriage. For an illustration: Groves and Blanchard, *Introduction to Mental Hygiene*, p. 164.

Richardson, Henry B. *Patients Have Families*. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1945. 408 pp. \$3.00.

The first adequate study of the effects of illness upon family life.

Rockwood, Lemo D. and Ford, Mary E. N. *Youth, Marriage and Parenthood*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1945. 298 pp. \$3.00.

Based upon information gathered by questionnaire from 364 students at Cornell University.

Ross, Nancy Wilson. *Westward the Women*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. 199 pp. \$2.75.

A fascinating study of the ordeal of women who crossed the Rockies when Oregon was a frontier. The present discontent of women is due to the ease of their life concludes the author.

Selling, Lowell and Ferraro, Mary Anna. *The Psychology of Diet and Nutrition*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1945. 192 pp. \$2.75.

A book known to the home economists that deserves the attention of all teachers of family courses whatever their background.

Siegler, Samuel L. *Fertility in Women*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1944. 450 pp. \$4.50.

Companion book to Hotchkiss' *Fertility in Men*. Highly technical, no better treatment of this subject is available at present.

Stern, Edith M. *Mental Illness: A Guide for the Family*. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1942. 134 pp. \$1.00.

This is written to help family members who have a mentally sick relative. A much needed book and one that students of family courses should be acquainted with.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Information that concerns marriage and the family ranges over such an extent of science that the student and instructor in this field require an extraordinarily wide background. The following books do not directly discuss marriage or family but each contains material that contributes insight for the understanding of domestic experience.

Bernhard, Dorothy, Chairman (Special Committee on Juvenile Delinquency) *The Effects of the War on Children*. New York: New York State Board of Health, 1943. 189 pp.

One of the best reports of the effects of the war upon the behavior of both the younger child and the adolescent.

Broster, L. R. *Endocrine Man*. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1945. 144 pp. \$3.50.

Written for physicians with the usual clarity of the writing of English scientists, it provides an excellent summary.

Flugel, J. C. *Man Morals and Society*. New York: International Universities Press, 1945. 328 pp. \$4.50.

Like the author's previous unique book, *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Family*, the interpretation is distinctly Freudian.

Gillespie, R. D. *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1942. 251 pp. \$2.75.

Helpful in understanding problems of family relationships created or intensified by war experiences. Hamblen, E. C. *Endocrinology of Woman*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1945. 571 pp. \$8.00.

An authoritative presentation of the endocrine aspects of human experience from the life of the foetus to the climacteric.

Hunt, J. McV. *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*. (2 vols.) New York: Ronald Press, 1944. 1242 pp. \$10.00.

A series of essays some of which are of special interest to students of the family.

Kaplan, Oscar J. *Mental Disorders in Later Life*. California: Stanford University Press, 1945. 436 pp. \$5.00.

A thoroughgoing exposition of the major aspects of aging.

Lawton, George. *New Goals for Old Age*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. 210 pp. \$2.75.

A series of papers originally delivered in a course in mental health in old age.

Lindner, Robert M. *Rebel Without a Cause*. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1944. 196 pp. \$4.00.

A record of 46 hours of hypnoanalysis revealing much family history in the causal background of a young male criminal.

Lorand, Sandor. *Psycho-analysis Today*. New York: International University Press, 1944. 404 pp. \$6.00.

Papers written by a group of leading Freudians. Emphasis is placed upon childhood experience.

Menninger, Karl A. *The Human Mind*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. 517 pp. \$5.00.

A new edition of an excellent book that has had widespread appreciation.

Pratt, George K. *Soldier to Civilian*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1944. 233 pp. \$2.50.

An excellent and sensible presentation concerning the problems of the returned soldier which frequently have been foolishly discussed especially in popular magazines.

Reich, Wilhelm. *The Function of the Orgasm*. New York: Orgone Institute Press, 1942. 368 pp. \$3.00.

The thesis of this book is that orgasmic impotence

is the cause of neurosis (p. 87). In developing this the author contributes information of value to the teacher of marriage whatever his attitude toward the theory of the author.

Rogers, Carl R. *Counseling and Psychotherapy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942. 450 pp. \$3.60.

A discussion of counseling persons in trouble with an extensive report of one case giving the interviews as they occurred.

Scheinfeld, Amram. *Women and Men*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944. 453 pp. \$3.50.

A splendid discussion of the biological differences between the male and female with highly controversial but strongly expressed opinions regarding the social and psychic characteristics of men and women.

Sladen, Frank J. (ed.). *Psychiatry and the War*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1943. 505 pp. \$5.00.

The child and the family are recognized in this symposium on the influences of World War II.

Tomkins, Silvan. *Contemporary Psychopathology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943. 600 pp. \$5.00.

This is likely to be used as a book of reference by the teacher or counselor in the field of marriage and the family.

Weiss, Edward and English, O. Spurgeon. *Psychosomatic Medicine*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1943. 687 pp. \$8.00.

Although written for the physician this book should be read and reread especially by the marriage counselor who needs always to be on guard lest he underestimate the biological and physiological aspects of his client's problem.

CONFERENCE FOR THE CONSERVATION OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

In spite of cold rainy days for the first time in the history of the conference for the Conservation of Marriage and the Family, the ninth session carried on successfully April 9-11 at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The program as printed was followed with the one exception that W. Raney Stanford, M.D., spoke on problems of the aged and their effects on the family in the place of Alexandria Adler, M.D. A new feature was the third day's program on marriage counseling under the auspices of the American Association of Marriage Counselors.

Gladys Hoagland Groves and Ernest R. Groves were elected co-directors of the Tenth Conference to be held April 8-10, 1947, and Ray Sowers was chosen associate director. This year 50 per cent of the attendance was made up of those who had been to five or more conferences; and 85 per cent of those present had attended previous conferences. Since the number of those invited to the conference is limited to 125 from now on new members can be added only as old members drop out.

E. R. G.

THE HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLD PRACTICES OF DETROIT MEXICANS

NORMAN DAYMOND HUMPHREY

Wayne University

THE significance for an immigrant group of changing culture and of its accompanying interactions with other parts of culture lies in the fact that it reflects the acquisition of new articles, meanings, and usages, and the sloughing off of others. Changes in housing give a tangible index of the stages in the process of acculturation. Just as the changes in housing and household practices of an individual family may indicate its envolving aspirations, so the general tendency of the housing of the Mexican immigrant may indicate the merging of cultural elements.¹

A dynamic element, though not the sole determinant in the acquisition of American housing standards, is the economic one. In general, as rapidly as the economic situation allows, the Mexicans adopt American ways in connection with shelter.² Immigrant Mexicans are forced by economic circumstance to live in areas of cheap rentals,³ and, for the same reason, frequently to keep roomers. Often roomers are single brothers of either of the married pair.⁴ The economic burden is lightened and kin ties are maintained when several related families share a house together.⁵

When unrelated families crowd into limited quarters, as is often the case, it is usually a consequence of the maintenance of "folk hospitality."⁶ The trait of hospitality is retained and practiced

by some immigrant hosts even to the point of their own discomfiture. Where this duty of peasant Mexico has weakened in the new habitat a conflict situation may arise. This breakdown is evident in a selection on the M family.

On first receiving aid in 1930 the M family was living with another Mexican family named P, rent free, although the P's wished them to move. They quarreled so badly with the P's that several times the police had to be called to stop fights.⁷

The composition of the domestic group and the culture they carry vary. If a newly arrived family lives with one which has accepted American norms the condition for imitation of American behavior is presented to the newer immigrants. If however, the family acting as host retains Mexican ways, the situation tends to slow down the assimilative process. In general, the presence in the home of married children of the second generation hastens the parental generation's assimilation of American culture, and allows for a fusion of Mexican and American meanings, objects, and usages in domestic life.

Concerning the adjustment in housekeeping methods and furnishings, an orderly pattern of change can be discerned as American articles and usages are assimilated. As this process goes on, there is a corresponding diminution of *some* Mexican cultural objects. Thus early in the process of change, one segment of the Mexican population is found living in basement apartments which, in being lightless and airless, approximate the adobe huts of the peasant village. The likeness of this dwelling to that in Mexico accounts for the persistence with which it is retained by the least assimilated migrants. The following selection, although not typical of subsequent adjustments for the mass of Detroit Mexicans, contains representative aspects of household adjustment for the lowest economic stratum, the group within

¹ See P. S. Taylor, "Mexicans North of the Rio Grande," *Survey*, 66: 197, 146.

² See Manuel Gamio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 146-7.

³ Christine Lofstedt, "The Mexican Population of Pasadena, California," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 7: 264. Anita E. Jones, "Mexican Colonies in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, 2: 596.

⁴ A housing study of Mexicans in Chicago in the early 1920's showed that over forty percent of the one family households contained lodgers. J. B. Gwin, "Social Problems of Our Mexican Population," *National Conference of Social Work*, 1926: 331.

⁵ Examples of this are to be found in Detroit Department of Public Welfare case records. These case records are on file at the Record Bureau of the Detroit Department of Public Welfare.

⁶ Folk hospitality is seen in the rent-free occupation of another's home by the P family, and the G family.

⁷ When the S family was first in contact with the D. P. W. they were living with another family, Mr. and Mrs. T, and were sleeping on one cot. A quarrel between Mrs. S and Mrs. T resulted in the S family's moving into a single, barren room.

which the greatest amount of "overcrowding" occurs.

Mr. and Mrs. M, a childless couple were living in a one-room basement apartment in 1930. "The room gave the appearance of having been lived in for a long time, without any changes or alteration. There were two windows, one of which was completely boarded up and the other was boarded to the upper sash, and this was covered with a piece of cloth which permitted very little light. In order to see, there had to be artificial lighting which was supplied by one small electric light hung on a suspension cord. There was no ventilation, the room had a damp odor and the air was stuffy. The walls were covered with patches of wall paper, advertising, and newspapers. The floor was covered with patches of linoleum, laid down overlapping, with the floor surface uneven. The furniture was sparse. In one corner of the room was a bed which was made up with old, soiled, and worn bedding. On the opposite end of the room were boxes of clothing which looked as if they had been there for years and always left there, but additions were heaped one over the other. Shoes and other clothing were under the bed and hanging about the room. At the other end of the room was a bench, which was also loaded with household things. It seemed that it had never been cleaned or cleared off because dust and dirt were accumulated in what little space was left between articles. In the opposite corner was a cupboard which contained a few dishes. Between these two corners was a wood stove, quite dilapidated, on which a kettle of food was being cooked. The oven of the stove was propped shut with a board. The stove itself had no legs and was set on boards. In the center of the room was a small table on which were spread tomatoes and peppers. There were no water and no toilet. The room pictured someone who had just been existing in a cave-like fashion for a long time."⁸

⁸ A proof that this case is not unique and that some preference was exercised in taking or retaining basement apartments is shown in the following case selection: In 1935 the M. family moved to another basement apartment in a building occupied by Syrians. "This family lives in two basement rooms which are dark and unpleasant. The ventilation in these rooms is very bad. They heat the rooms with a small coal stove in which they burn soft coal. Mrs. M is an extremely poor housekeeper. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. M is clean in their personal appearance. Mr. M's face and hands were filthy. His hair also had the appearance of being in a very bad condition" (2-22-35). Somewhat later, both were "dressed in rags," Mr. M appearing very shabby and in urgent need of a haircut" (10-8-35). When the house changed hands they had to move since "the real estate agent told Mr. M that it would be necessary for him to move as the bank would not consider the renting of the basement quarters." The

Basement apartments and attics often served as quarters for Detroit Mexicans.⁹ Because such rooms were not originally designed as living places, few persons at a time could occupy them without giving rise to overcrowding, a situation which has been noted as common among Mexicans in several cities in the United States.¹⁰

In deciding the extent to which overcrowding exists, the lack of adequate bed space may be used as a rough index.¹¹ The actuality of sleeping arrangements must first be considered in the light of peon Mexican cultural codes, particularly for the poorest groups, in their use, for example, of the *petate* or pallet.¹² It is important to note that the absence of beds in the rural huts of Mexico is carried over by the poorest and least assimilated groups in Detroit. From another viewpoint, it would seem that sleeping facilities in some cases were so "bad" that persons were required to sleep

family moved but again took basement quarters in a large brick building having a four-room apartment. The rooms were heated by the landlord's furnace, which was located at the rear of the family's apartment. Radiators in the ceiling also gave off heat. A small coal stove was used for cooking, and kerosene for lighting.

⁹ A Chicago Department of Public Welfare survey showed that 11 percent of the Mexicans there in the early 1920's occupied basement apartments. Gwin, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

¹⁰ In addition to Chicago, Gwin cites a Denver study which showed "much overcrowding also." *Ibid.* M. S. Handman comes to similar conclusions for San Antonio. See "San Antonio, The Old Capitol City of Mexican Life and Influence," *Survey*, 66: 165.

In 1939 all nine members of the M family slept in two beds. Another M family in 1931 occupied two rooms of the landlord's house with the right to use the kitchen. The five persons slept in one room and there were no indoor toilet facilities. Three of the children slept in one bed.

¹¹ In San Antonio, Handman found that of 1500 Mexican families, 141 had seven or more children. Of this 141 large family group, 51 had houses of only two rooms, 21 had only one bed per family, and 82 had but two beds. *Ibid.*

¹² In New Mexico, Mary Austin often saw "a whole family sleeping contentedly on the floor around a . . . bed . . . reserved for guests and sickness." "Mexicans and New Mexico," *Survey*, 66: 144. Stevenson writing of Irapuato in Mexico says of the brass bed, which peasants, if not too poor, possess, "It is reserved for guests or to die in." "The Emigrant Comes Home," *Survey*, 66: 176.

on the floor.¹³ Sleeping on the springs of a bed without benefit of mattress represented yet another adaptation of the family to inadequate bed facilities.¹⁴

Sleeping arrangements for children, in addition to being "bad" as they were for the adult family, might be quite bizarre, or so they would appear to an American social worker. Tiny infants can be found sleeping in carriages, in hammocks, or even in cots in the basement.¹⁵ A not untypical situation is illustrated by the sleeping arrangements chronicled in the P case.

The P family lived in a three room house. The living room contained a day bed on which Mr. P and several of the sons slept. Mrs. P and two other children slept on a bed, whereas four of the children slept on the living room floor.¹⁶

The retention of usages having to do with sleeping facilities is often accompanied by the maintenance of other practices carried over from the homeland. Early in the adjustment of the family to housing in Detroit, rugs and other furniture are largely absent and ventilation is poor; with more progressive adjustment, however, greater cleanliness, greater quantities of furniture, and more American household objects come to fill the house. Although examples of many of these household practices may be found in a single case excerpt, for purposes of clarity they can best be discussed topically.

The houses of Mexican welfare clients are not infrequently noted by social workers as damp, dark, and in need of airing. The succeeding case extract illustrates this.

¹³ The three D children and their grandmother were sleeping on the floor without mattresses (2-4-37).

¹⁴ There was no mattress on the bed on which the youngest boys slept (11-13-35). In 1936 the G family needed mattresses, some of the children sleeping in beds with springs, but no mattresses. They have a couple of covers over the springs to sleep on (2-28-36).

¹⁵ Mr. and Mrs. G slept in one bedroom, and the baby slept in a carriage. The two boys slept in an iron bed in the sitting room, while the small girl slept in another cot. In 1929 the worker saw only two beds and an old couch for nine persons to sleep on. A hammock swung over the bed was used for the baby to sleep on (11-18-29) (Italics mine).

The worker asked where the new baby slept and Mrs. P said that there was a bed for it in the basement (3-1-39).

¹⁶ A Detroit D. P. W. case record.

For one worker the house appeared in "a great deal of confusion. It was dark and V feels that it has never been aired" (2-26-31). Another worker stated that the "family occupies the second story of a very old frame house which is infested with rats, bed bugs and is in a filthy condition. The entire appearance of the house is untidy and dirty" (5-32). That the condition persisted is evidenced in 1939, when the worker stated that "the house was unkempt, but not as dirty, as described in the previous worker's reports. At this time there were no rugs visible anywhere in the house."¹⁷

Social workers decry such phenomena and are wont to ascribe them to innate slovenliness.¹⁸ The fact is, however, that houses of lower class Mexicans in Mexico are airless, windowless places, in which little light enters and, until the Mexican family has acquired American standards (or is in the process of so doing) a dusky interior is a thing normally to be desired.¹⁹ However, not all new elements will be taken on simultaneously. One index of the emergence of new norms, is that of greater ventilation and more general cleanliness. This is seen in the A case.

The first reference to housing indicates that the rooms are dark and damp and that there are no windows in the bedrooms, but "*in spite of this condition, Mrs. A. is satisfied with the rooms*" (8-29-31). A later worker notes that the "house was scantily furnished." The worker, in 1934, found the family occupying five rooms, which were large, roomy and well ventilated. The house is "fairly neat and clean with congoeum rugs on the floor" (italics mine).²⁰

The proceeding discussions on cleanliness and order within the house contain references to frequent absence of furniture, i.e., the inadequateness by American standards of the amount and kinds of household articles, among which was notable the general absence of rugs. In adobe houses of the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ The "dilapidated frame terrace with its rudimentary furnishings, no carpets or draperies, is clean for Mexicans. Judged by any other standards, it would appear at its best grimy" (6-13-35) (Italics mine).

¹⁹ The house in which the A family lived in 1932 was described by the caseworker on one instance as "quite dirty as usual" (3-23-32). Several years later, the living room was noted to be "clean but sparsely furnished." The norm of darkness, welded into the individual by the adobe house of his childhood tended, however, to persist. "House is gloomy and dark although fairly clean and tidy" (10-3-34).

²⁰ See E. S. Bogardus, "The Mexican Immigrant," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 11: 486.

lower classes in Mexico, earthen floors predominate and rugs are useless articles, for dirt can collect under them and insects be housed within them.²¹ Hence, in Detroit, the absence of rugs is not regarded as uncomfortable, and merely evidences the persistence of established meanings. The absence of rugs and furniture allows for the retention in a new guise of cultural features of cleanliness which would not otherwise be retained.

Mrs. P was scrubbing the house and washing the floors with a hose and said she felt this would make the place cooler (7-22-35).²²

House furnishings in Detroit are frequently described as "meager."

In 1935 the D family was living in a "tumble-down cottage" at a rent of ten dollars a month, the house being furnished by a "few sticks of furniture" (11-27-35). In January, 1936, they moved to a flat above a store on a business street, where they did not have enough furniture to adequately fill "two rooms." There were no rugs on the floor (11-17-36).²³

If Mexican households seem to Americans to be barren of furniture, it should be remembered that Mexican economy stressed useful and inexpensive household objects. Since interior furnishings are not many in Mexico, they are not considered necessary here. Nor, of course, can furniture be obtained without large expenditures. What installment buying is done is subject to the insecurity of the job, and is easily repossessed.²⁴ The barren interior of Mexican houses in the early 1930's was thus partially a consequence of the retention of Mexican meanings. It was also a result of the economic insecurity of life in Detroit which prevented acquisition of American articles even though they had come to be viewed as desirable.

Certain ways of doing things and specific objects in the household offer particular illustration of the retention of the old patterns.²⁵

²¹ See Alice Evans Cruz, "The Romanzas Train Senora Nurse," *Survey*, 66: 488.

²² D. P. W. case record.

²³ In another case: "The rooms are almost void of furniture and the only decorations consist of pictures of Mae West" (2-7-39).

²⁴ The G house was quite barren of furniture since the Kelly Furniture Co. had repossessed the dining room furniture" (7-14-31).

²⁵ For notice of house decorations in Mexico, see Emma R. Stevenson, "The Emigrant Comes Home," *op. cit.*, p. 176.

Thus walls of rooms may be ornamented colorfully with Mexican knickknacks, brightly tinted calendars, painted family photographs and religious objects.

The parlor walls are decorated with such works of art as a tinted photograph of Mr. and Mrs. G, a lithographed calendar with many riotous colors what will never harmonize, and several ornaments of the carnival variety. *A statue of the Blessed Virgin and one of the Sacred Heart are on top of the radio*²⁶ (italics mine).

Combined with the preference for greater cleanliness and ventilation, which usually relate to more adequate economic circumstances, is the acquisition of more furniture for the house.

The S family, in 1930, shared three rooms with another family and slept on a cot. In 1932 they occupied a single room which contained "not a single stick of furniture" (10-3-32). In 1933 "due to gas heating, the whole family has been sick and a city physician had to be summoned for the baby" (2-10-33). They then moved into a warm attic room, which was extremely crowded (3-11-33). With the birth of a second child, they moved into a large room, but stayed only one night "because of vermin" (7-35). Thereafter, "the place was fairly clean" and, finally, when the family moved into a six-room brick terrace with a bath, there were frequent references to the immaculate cleanliness of the house and to the fact that it was adequately furnished (1-20-37). Once "not a speck of dust was to be seen anywhere" (3-27-37).²⁷

While Mexican objects, such as religious images and candles, family photographs and statuary persist, new household objects which seemingly function to enhance status, as well as to provide utility, are gradually acquired.²⁸ Thus radios, pianos, and dressing tables appear in the homes; and the importance of these objects to their owners is attested by the care with which they are protected, even to being covered with bed sheets.

The bedrooms of the A house had no other furniture but beds in them. No dressers were evident, but a customary adaptation sufficed for the storing of clothing. "All the clothes, washed, but unironed, were dumped

²⁶ Observation of Mary Pike, a Wayne University student.

²⁷ D. P. W. case record.

²⁸ "The family have an inside toilet but no full bathroom. They use electricity for lighting and coal for cooking. They have a very nice radio in the living room. However, there is very little other furniture" (6-7-34).

into a big wooden barrel, one or two for each bedroom . . . The furniture was poor with the exception of a very nice radio which *was covered with a sheet*" (11-3-32) (Italics mine).²⁹

The radio thus often appears as an anachronism in an otherwise outmoded setting. The use of the radio as an index of changing and changed interests, and as an instrument through which old cultural forms are lopped off is explicitly evidenced in the following excerpt:

The worker talked with Mrs. G while she was ironing. "The radio was on and she noticed that the piano on one side of the room had been covered with several old sheets. Mrs. G was quite talkative and very pleasantly told V that she at one time played the piano and showed the worker her violin case and guitar case. The strings on both instruments were broken, and Mrs. G smilingly remarked that she had forgotten most of the musical knowledge she once had" (2-17-37).³⁰

The radio thus would appear as instrumental in promoting a more passive form of musical recreation than was customary among Mexican peasants in the homeland.³¹ Positive aspects of the radio include its use as a vehicle conveying American culture into the Mexican home where the culture can be acquired without conscious effort or conflict. The following case excerpt has significance in what it portends for this process rather than in what it actually exemplifies.

"V found Mr. R and the three children at home. Mr. R was listening to a baseball game on the radio and apparently did not wish to be disturbed. The children did most of the talking to the visitor. Finally, just before leaving, Mr. R came out of the living room where the radio was" (4-35).³²

An object having a wider incidence in the household than the radio is the sewing machine. Its appearance is also ubiquitous in the homes of Mexican families who have had a chance to acquire American machine goods and furniture.³³ The function its presence implies is consistent with the woman's rôle in Mexican culture, for she is a

person largely occupied with home tasks and with the care of children. The use of the sewing machine, however, is occasionally a trait carried over from Mexico, a fact envisioning the future universality in North America of an industrially-conditioned culture.

Household practices of another sort center in the continuance, by some Detroit Mexicans, of the practice of having domestic animals other than dogs and cats in the dwelling.

The presence of animals in the Mexican home in Detroit is not unexpected as it is merely a carry-over from the generic culture of the Mexican peon. This is most pointedly illustrated in the presence of chickens and doves in the yard and even in the houses of their owners.

The small backyard of the P family "is a mess of sheds and shacks that reach nearly to the back steps. In the tiny enclosure chickens fled to and fro through the open kitchen door. Baby chicks wander into the dining room, and one steps gingerly that they not be trod upon. In the midst of the investigation, everyone jumped when a hen laid an egg, and flew off the kitchen table and took roost upon a convenient chair back, to further make noisy claims to her prowess. The hen laid the egg in a bowl."

As in Mexico, unusual bird pets are retained in Detroit.

During the interview, the worker heard a soft cooing in the kitchen and upon inquiring if they had a pet, Mr. R went into the kitchen and brought in a mourning dove. The mourning dove flew around the room and was very tame. Mr. R explained to the worker that they had had two or three of them for two years as pets" (1-26-31).

Dogs are also often kept as pets, and the largeness of this animal owned by the Mexican, like the largeness of his car and his radio, may well be interpreted as a means for the attainment of status, as well as an object of utility.

On the whole, the adjustment of Detroit Mexicans to a place to live has involved the acquisition of relatively superficial layers of American culture, and the shedding of equally shallow Mexican elements. The progressive tendency toward acceptance of American elements of a utilitarian character which, at the same time, enhance their possessor's status, points to a merging of Mexican peasant and American working class culture in Detroit.

²⁹ D. P. W. case record.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ See Ruth Camblon, "Mexicans in Chicago," *The Family*, 7: 210.

³² D. P. W. case record.

³³ Mrs. R did a good deal of sewing on a sewing machine and on one occasion the worker found her making a costume for Margaret, who was to be "Goddess of Mexicans" in a church pageant (7-34).

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LARGER MIXED-BLOOD RACIAL ISLANDS OF THE EASTERN UNITED STATES

WILLIAM HARLEN GILBERT, JR.

Library of Congress

PREFATORY STATEMENT

IN MANY of the eastern States of this country there are small pockets of peoples who are scattered here and there in different counties and who are complex mixtures in varying degrees of white, Indian, and Negro blood. These small local groups seem to develop especially where environmental circumstances such as forbidding swamps or inaccessible and barren mountain country favor their growth. Many are located along the tidewater of the Atlantic coast where swamps or islands and peninsulas have protected them and kept alive a portion of the aboriginal blood which greeted the first white settlers on these shores. Others are farther inland in the Piedmont area and are found with their backs up against the wall of the Blue Ridge or the Alleghanies. A few of these groups are to be found on the very top of the Blue Ridge and on the several ridges of the Appalachian Great Valley just beyond.

No satisfactory name has ever been invented to designate as a whole these mixed outcasts from both the white and Negro castes of America. However, their existence can be traced back practically to the beginning of settlement by whites in the various areas in which they occur. The early white settlers called these racial intermediates "free colored" or "free negroes" and considered them frequently as mere squatters rather than as legitimate settlers on the land. The laws were interpreted to the disadvantage of these folk and they were forbidden to testify in court. Acts were passed to prohibit their immigration from other States and they were considered as undesirables

since they bridged the racial gap between free whites and slave Negroes.

After the Civil War these mixed folk were still classified as "colored" or as "mulattoes" but they were frequently encouraged to develop their own institutions and schools separate from the Negroes. In recent years there are some indications that the numbers of these intermediate mixed populations are growing rather rapidly and that they may total well over 50,000 persons at the present time.

There is little evidence for the supposition that they are being absorbed to any great extent into either the white or the Negro groups. Their native breeding grounds furnish a seemingly inexhaustible reservoir of population which periodically swarms into cities and industrial areas. The characteristics of illiteracy, poverty, and large families mark them as members of the more backward section of the American nation. Draft boards and the armed forces have found it difficult to classify them racially for military service. As a sizable native minority they certainly deserve more attention than the meager investigations which sociologists and anthropologists have hitherto made of their problems. A recognition of their existence by social scientists can hardly prejudice their social prospects since the vast majority cannot possibly hope to pass as "white" under the present social system. In the hope of enlisting the interest of scientific bodies and foundations in research on these mixed groups, then, the following brief memorandum outline of ten of these mixed "racial islands" is presented.

I. BRASS ANKLES AND ALLIED GROUPS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

LOCATION. These peoples are located mainly on the coastal plain area of the State. They are called by a variety of names, depending upon the county but show a general resemblance to each other. They are termed Brass Ankles (possibly from Spanish "abrasado," toasted brown) in Dorchester, Colleton, Berkeley, Orangeburg, and Charleston counties; Croatans or Cros in Marlboro, Dillon, Marion and Horry counties; Red Bones in Richland; Red Legs in Orangeburg; Turks in Sumter; Buckheads in Bamberg; Marlboro Blues in Chesterfield, and so on. Still other nicknames are "Greeks," "Portugese," Clay-eaters, Yellow-hammers, Summerville Indians or simply "those Yellow People."

NUMBERS. Estimated to run from 5,000 to 10,000 in the State.

ORGANIZATION. Family groups only. In some areas have own schools which are nominally white. Family names are Boone, Braveboy, Bunch, Chavis, Creek, Driggers, Goins, Harmon, Russell, Scott, Shavis, Swett, and Williams.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. Originally lived in isolation in such areas as "Hell-hole Swamp" north of Charleston and in other swampy coast lands. Some were also isolated in the sand hills between the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain where pine barrens predominate. Hunters, fishers, and cultivators.

PHYSIQUE. Indian, white, and Negro types. Physical structure adapted to vigorous out-of-doors life.

IN-MARRIAGE. Tendency to pass over into white group noticeable. In-marriage marked.

RELIGION. Protestant. Attend white churches and also colored.

SCHOOLS. Certain schools, nominally white, are set aside for them. Teachers are difficult to get. Some go to white schools but this does not automatically give equal status.

MILITARY DRAFT. Apparently classed as white.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. Have voted for many years. All good Democrats.

RELIEF. WPA period helped to break down isolation of these groups.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. No data.

SOCIAL STATUS. Recognized as "Near-white."

HISTORY. Many theories regarding their origin. Numerous Indian tribes were here such as Cusabo,

Yamassee, etc. Have only attracted attention of writers recently although known locally at the Civil War period.

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II. CAJANS AND CREOLES OF ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI

LOCATION. Cajans in the hilly areas of Washington, Mobile, and Clarke counties as well as adjoining parts of Mississippi. Creoles in Mobile and Baldwin counties around Mobile Bay in Alabama. Name "Cajan" derived from fanciful resemblance to the Louisiana Cajuns or Acadians. Creole name derived from "Creole colored" or "Creole mixed."

NUMBERS. Cajans said to be "several thousands." Creoles may be of similar number.

ORGANIZATION. Cajans have family groups only. Chief family names are Byrd, Carter, Chestang, Johnson, Jones, Rivers, Smith, Sullivan, Terry, and Weaver. Creoles in Mobile had their own fire company and other organizations. Their chief family names (formerly indicated by special designation in the city directory) are Allen, Andry, Balasco, Ballariel, Battiste, Bernoudy, Cassino, Cato, Chastang or Chestang, Collins, Gomez, Hiner, Juzang, Lafargue, Laland, Laurendine, Laurent, Mazangue, Mifflin, Nicholas, Perez, Ponquinette, Pope, Reid, Taylor, and Trenier. The relationships between family names shared by Creoles and Cajans is not clear.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. Cajans are a poor hill people of the wooded country who subsist by lumbering, turpentine extraction, and various odd jobs. Creoles are urban folk in the main and do oyster opening, cigar making, cotton sampling, and various other kinds of artisan work.

PHYSIQUE. Creoles are mixture of Latins, Negroes, etc. The Cajans are mixture of white, Indian, and Negro types.

IN-MARRIAGE. No data.

RELIGION. Creoles are primarily Roman Catholic while the Cajans are mostly Protestants (Baptist and Methodist).

SCHOOLS. Cajans have their own schools through the first 7 grades in the three counties where they live. Creole school situation not known excepting that educational opportunities have been much better than among Cajans.

MILITARY DRAFT STATUS. No data.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. No data.

RELIEF. Cajans have been in need of relief.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Cajans have individual patois and magical art. No data concerning Creoles.

SOCIAL STATUS. Position of both groups is apparently between that of whites and Negroes.

HISTORY. Legendary origin of Creoles is explained as due to union of Caribbean pirates with Indians and Negroes. Cajans have a similar tale. Family names shared by both occur in Mobile census lists of 1830 for free colored.

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III. CROATANS OF NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND VIRGINIA

LOCATION. Center in Robeson County, North Carolina around Lumberton. Are also found in neighboring counties of Bladen, Columbus, Cumberland, Macon, Hoke, and Sampson. In Person County, North Carolina are the allied group sometimes called "Cubans" or "Croatiens" and these extend over into Halifax County, Virginia. In South Carolina, Croatans are found in Marlboro, Dillon, Marion, and Horry counties. Origin of the name "Croatan" attributed to "Croatoan" which was

connected with Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony. Also these people have been termed "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County" and "Sioux Indians of Lumber River."

NUMBERS. Were said to total 3,640 in 1890 and in Census of 1930 were numbered as over 13,000. Census of 1940 did not enumerate them separately. Apparently they are still increasing at a rapid rate.

ORGANIZATION. Family groups and other institutions. Possess own churches, schools, etc. Family names are Allen, Bennett, Berry, Bridger, Brooks, Brown, Butler, Chapman, Chavis or Chavez, Coleman, Cooper, Dare, Gramme, Harris, Harvie, Howe, Johnson, Jones, Lasie, Little, Locklear, Lowry, Lucas, Martyn, Oxendine, Paine, Patterson, Powell, Sampson, Scott, Smith, Stevens, Taylor, Viccars, White, Willes, Wilkinson, Wood, and Wright.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. Originally dwellers in the swamplands of the Lumber River they became cultivators of cotton, tobacco, and corn over a wide area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

PHYSIQUE. Measurements by Dr. Carl Seltzer for the Office of Indian Affairs in 1936-1937 of a hundred or more individuals showed a definite minority of marked Indian type. The remainder are white and negroid. They are said to be malaria resistant.

IN-MARRIAGE. Law of the State of North Carolina does not permit intermarriage with Negroes nor, in effect, with whites.

RELIGION. Protestants.

SCHOOLS. Separate and special schools were organized for them in 1885. They now have their own school boards, teachers of their own race, and a special normal school.

MILITARY DRAFT STATUS. No data.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. Disfranchised in 1835 they were again allowed to vote after the Civil War. Said to be Democrats.

RELIEF. No data.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Folklore and dialectic traits.

SOCIAL STATUS. Between white and Negro.

HISTORY. First came to the attention of the public during the Civil War due to the exploits of the famous Henry Berry Lowry. They have been derived by various authors from Raleigh's Lost Col-

ony, from Latin sailors shipwrecked in North Carolina, and from Croatia.

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IV. GUINEAS OF WEST VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

LOCATION. Primarily centered in Barbour and Taylor counties, West Virginia. Also small scattered families in Grant, Preston, Randolph, Tucker, Marion, Monongalia and Braxton counties, West Virginia. Said to have originated in Hampshire County, West Virginia. A few occur in Garrett County, Maryland. Have recently migrated to Canton, Chillicothe, Zanesville, Akron, and Sandusky in Ohio and to Detroit, Michigan. Word "Guinea" said to be an epithet applied to anything of foreign or unknown origin. Other names applied locally are "West Hill" Indians, Maileys, "Cecil" Indians, "G. and B." Indians, and "Guinea niggers."

NUMBERS. Estimated to be from 8,000 to 9,000.

ORGANIZATION. Have own schools and churches in Barbour and Taylor counties. Have an annual fair at Philippi, West Virginia. Family names are Adams, Collins, Croston, Dalton, Dorton, Kennedy, Male (Mayle, Mahle, Mail), Minard (Miner), Newman, Norris, and Prichard.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. Many are coal miners, hill cultivators on sub-marginal lands, truck farmers and dairy farmers, domestic servants, and in cities industrial workers. Original habitat an inaccessible hilly area on a horseshoe bend of the Tygart River, the so-called "Narrows." Live in compact settlements in this area.

PHYSIQUE. Sharp and angular features characteristic. Originally a mixture of white and Indian types to which Negro has been added. Deformities of the limbs and other congenital defects.

IN-MARRIAGE. Has been pronounced in the past. Now said to intermarry with Italians (who are also called "Guineas" in this area).

RELIGION. Mainly "Free Methodists" in Barbour and Taylor counties.

SCHOOLS. Have special schools classed locally as "colored." Considerable tension over attendance at white schools in Taylor County. In Barbour County two schools have been burned down due to troubles.

MILITARY DRAFT STATUS. In Taylor County (Grafton and vicinity) have almost uniformly gone into the white status.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. Have voted since organization of the State. Now hold balance of power in Barbour County.

RELIEF. Received during the Depression.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Folklore, annual fair.

SOCIAL STATUS. Courts have pronounced them "colored." Regarded as mulattoes. Do not associate as a rule with Negroes or whites.

HISTORY. Claim English descent from Revolutionary ancestors. Building of Tygart River Dam in 1937 scattered them in Taylor County due to flooding of original settlements.

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V. ISSUES OF VIRGINIA

LOCATION. Amherst and Rockbridge Counties. Name is derived from the term applied to free Negroes prior to the Civil War.

NUMBERS. Said to be around 500 in 1926.

ORGANIZATION. Family groups only. Chief family names are Adcox, Branham, Johns, Redcross, and Willis.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. A highland folk of the Blue Ridge foothills they are mostly renters who cultivate tobacco in shares. Chief stronghold on Tobacco Row Mountain.

PHYSIQUE. A mixture of white, Indian, and Negro types.

IN-MARRIAGE. Has been characteristic of the group.

RELIGION. Protestants. Episcopal mission has been maintained at Bear Mountain for many years. Has a school center for these people.

SCHOOLS. No organization aside from Mission.

MILITARY DRAFT. No data as to color classification.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. No data.

RELIEF. No data.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Traditions of Indian descent. Folklore not studied.

SOCIAL STATUS. Said to be below that of whites.

HISTORY. Ancestors of these people were in this area as far back as 1790. Local genealogical records very complete. Issues seem to have attracted little save local notice.

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VI. JACKSON WHITES OF NEW JERSEY AND NEW YORK

LOCATION. Orange and Rockland Counties in New York; Bergen, Morris, and Passaic counties, New Jersey. Name said to be derived from "Jackson and White" which are common surnames. Another derivation is from "Jacks" and "Whites," the terms for Negroes and Caucasians. Still another idea is that Jackson was a man who imported some of the ancestors of these people during the Revolutionary War. In one part of this area are the so-called "Blue-eyed Negroes" who are said to be a race apart from the rest.

NUMBERS. Estimated to be upwards of 5,000.

ORGANIZATION. Family groups only. Family names are Casalony, Cisco, De Groat, De Vries, Mann, Van Dunk, etc.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. These are mainly a hill people of the Ramapo Hills. They raise a few crops at favorable spots and do hunting. Many have migrated to the lowlands and to industrial and mining areas.

PHYSIQUE. In some areas apparently pure white types are found while in others negroid types dominate. In still other areas Indian mixed types seem to predominate. Albinism and deformities have been indicated.

IN-MARRIAGE. Due to environmental limitations this has been marked.

RELIGION. Protestant in the main. Presbyterians have had a mission among these people.

SCHOOLS. In New Jersey white schools have been attended. No data on New York. Tend to concentrate in a few schools.

MILITARY DRAFT STATUS. No data.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. No data.

RELIEF. No data.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Dialectic peculiarities, home-made utensils, folklore.

SOCIAL STATUS. Regarded as "colored" by white neighbors.

HISTORY. Traditionally derived from Tuscarora and Munsee Indians, Hessians, English, Negroes from West Indies, etc. First described by Speck in 1911.

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VII. MELUNGEONS OF THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS

LOCATION. Original center of dispersal was said to be Newman's Ridge in Hancock County, Tennessee. From thence are said to have spread into other counties such as Cocke, Davidson (Nashville), Franklin, Grundy, Hamilton (Chattanooga), Hawkins, Knox (Knoxville), Marion, Meigs, Morgan, Overton, Rhea, Roane, Sullivan, White, Wilson, Bledsoe, and Van Buren. In southwest Virginia they are known also as Ramps and occur in the counties of Giles, Lee, Russell, Scott, Washington, and Wise. Some are said to have migrated to southeastern Kentucky and a few went to Blounts-

town, Florida, just west of Tallahassee. One or two writers mention that some have gone westward to the Ozarks. The name is said to be derived from the French "Melange," mixed or from the Greek "Melan," black.

NUMBERS. Estimated to run from 5,000 to 10,000. Birthrate high.

ORGANIZATION. Family groups only. Original family names were Collins, Gibson or Gipson, Goins, Mullins or Mellons. Other names mentioned are Bolen, Denhan, Freeman, Gann, Gorgens, Graham, Noel, Piniore, Sexton, Wright.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. Originally pioneer cultivators in the Appalachian Valley lowlands they were said to have been driven to the ridges by the white settlers. Newman's Ridge, Clinch Mountain, Copper Ridge and the Cumberland Range in eastern Tennessee were their chief habitats. Their means of living originally included hunting, fishing, ginseng root gathering, herb gathering, charcoal burning, and in the very earliest times river boat carriage and cattle driving. In recent years they have become lowland tenant farmers, small land owners and coal miners. Basketry, chairmaking, and cooperage also pursued. Dwellings sometimes in sides of cliffs. Wild, unfrequented hill country has often been their chief habitat.

PHYSIQUE. Characteristic range between Indian, white, and occasional negroid types. Stoic endurance of out-of-doors life notable.

IN-MARRIAGE. Considerable intermarriage with whites in recent times. Originally married only within the group.

RELIGION. Presbyterians have had missions among them for many years at Vardy and Sycamore (Sneedville P. O.) in Tennessee. Some are Baptists. Hymns peculiar to mountain folk sung.

SCHOOLS. Attend white schools in Franklin, Marion, and Rhea counties in Tennessee after winning lawsuits regarding their racial classification. In southwest Virginia attend white schools when they go at all. Most are still said to be illiterate.

MILITARY DRAFT STATUS. Illiteracy is said to be a bar to their military service in some places.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. Disfranchised in Tennessee by Constitution of 1834. Have voted since the Civil War. Republican in politics.

RELIEF. Were given food and clothing in Virginia during the Depression of the 1930's.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Magic and folklore said to be important. Funeral rites formerly involved building a small house over a fresh grave.

SOCIAL STATUS. Said to approximate the white level in many areas today.

HISTORY. Several theories of origin. Some derive them from Croatians, some from Portuguese, Negro, and English ancestry. Appeared in east Tennessee shortly after the American Revolution. First modern notice under the name "Melungeon" in 1889.

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VIII. MOORS AND NANTICOKES OF DELAWARE AND NEW JERSEY

LOCATION. Nanticokes are around Millsboro in Sussex County, Delaware. Moors are centered in Cheswold, Kent County, Delaware, and at Bridgeton, Cumberland County in southern New Jersey. Name "Moor" traditionally derived from shipwrecked Moorish sailors.

NUMBERS. Moors about 500 in Delaware, Nanticokes about 700.

ORGANIZATION. Nanticokes are incorporated. Moors have no organizations other than the family. Moor family names are Carney or Corney, Carter, Carver, Coker, Dean, Durham, Hansley or Hansor, Hughes, Morgan, Mosley, Munce, Reed, Ridgeway, Sammon and Seeney. Nanticoke family names are Bumberry, Burke, Burton, Clarke, Cormeans, Coursey, Davis, Drain, Hansor, Harmon, Hill, Jackson, Johnson, Kimmey, Layton, Miller, Morris, Moseley, Newton, Norwood, Reed,

Ridgeway, Rogers, Sockum, Street, Thomas, Thompson, Walker and Wright.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. Originally both groups may have been swamp hunters and fishers. Now are truck farmers.

PHYSIQUE. Indian, white, and negro types occur. Drooped eyelids inherited in one family strain.

IN-MARRIAGE. Customary.

RELIGION. Protestants. Some sections among Nanticokes have own churches.

SCHOOLS. Moors attend colored schools. Nanticokes have own school with teacher paid by the State.

MILITARY DRAFT STATUS. No data.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. No data.

RELIEF. Not needed apparently.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Utensils and implements formerly made locally by the Nanticokes. These people also have their own medicines and folklore.

SOCIAL STATUS. Uncertain.

HISTORY. Nanticokes first noticed about 1889, Moors about 1895.

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IX. RED BONES OF LOUISIANA

LOCATION. The parishes of Natchitoches, Vernon, Calcasieu, Terrebonne, La Fourche, and St. Tammany. The term "Red Bone" is derived from the French Os Rouge, for persons partly of Indian blood. Also called "Houmas" along the Coast and "Sabines" farther west. In Natchitoches are the "Cane River Mulattoes."

NUMBERS. Considerably over 3,000 and with a tendency to rapid increase.

ORGANIZATION. Family groups and settlements. There are a limited number of French family names.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. The coastal groups are farmers, sugar cane workers, cattle raisers, hunters and fishers. Those on the inland prairies are farmers raising corn and other crops. The groups at Slidell north of Lake Pontchartrain seem to merge gradually into the Cajans of southern Mississippi.

PHYSIQUE. Mixed French, Indian, Anglo-Saxon, and Negro.

IN-MARRIAGE. Tendency to marry within the group has long been marked.

RELIGION. Mainly Roman Catholic. Some Baptists.

SCHOOLS. Colored or special.

MILITARY DRAFT. No data on classification by color.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. No data.

RELIEF. No data.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Many old Indian customs and traits preserved.

SOCIAL STATUS. Once treated as full social equals by the French, they have long since fallen into the status of Mulattoes in some parts, of Indians in other places.

HISTORY. Derive from early border conflicts of authority and the banishment of mixed race persons from Texas. Inter-marriage of French and Indians a marked feature of colonial period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Saxon, Lyle. *Children of Strangers* (a Novel), (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1937).

Shugg, Roger W. *Origin of the Class Struggle in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1939), pp. 43-45.

U. S. Writers Program of the WPA. *Louisiana, a Guide to the State* (1941), pp. 80, 638.

X. WESORTS OF SOUTHERN MARYLAND

LOCATION. Most of these people are in Charles and Prince Georges counties, Maryland. A few have migrated to Washington, D. C., Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and the Philadelphia metropolitan area.

NUMBERS. Evidence available seems to indicate from 3,000 to 5,000. They have a high birth rate.

ORGANIZATION. None beyond family groups. Family names are Butler, Harley, Linkins, Mason, Newman, Proctor, Queen, Savoy, Swan, and Thompson.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY. Are primarily tenant farmers or small landowners growing tobacco and other crops. Near the city they are truck farmers and in town are artisans, petty traders, and repair men. Originally located near the Zekiah and other swamps many are still excellent fishermen and hunters.

PHYSIQUE. Characteristically white and Indian with occasional marked negroid types. Albinism, short teeth, hereditary deafness and nervous disorders occur in some strains.

IN-MARRIAGE. A marked characteristic for many years.

RELIGION. Mainly Roman Catholics as are the whites and Negroes who adjoin them.

SCHOOLS. Attend Negro schools but in one or two neighborhoods a majority of the school attendance is made up of children of this group.

MILITARY DRAFT STATUS. Some are classified as white, others as Negroes.

VOTING AND CIVIL RIGHTS. Appear to have voted freely for a long period. Formerly Democrats they have tended to be Republicans the last 50 years.

RELIEF. Not much given to them.

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Folk medicines and herbalism; animal nicknames; annual festival on August 15th.

SOCIAL STATUS. Somewhat above that of the Negro but below the white.

HISTORY. Appear to be in part descended from several small Indian tribes of colonial times. The name originated about 1890. Romantic legends of Spanish shipwrecked sailors, French-Canadian traders, etc. Family names connected with the "free colored" or "free mulatto" names of 1790.

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- White, Roxana. "They Stand Alone: The West-orts of Charles County." *The Sun* (Baltimore, Nov. 12, 1939), sec. I, p. 2. il.

Mississippi
Louisiana

Choctaw
Houma, Chitimacha, Choctaw,
Coushatta

These groups together with those already sketched in this memorandum would, if thoroughly studied, provide the answer to a number of questions. For one thing they should demonstrate how detribalization affects Indians and what becomes of Indians presumably "freed" from the supervision of the Federal Government or never really under its jurisdiction. These examples would also show how outcast or pariah peoples come into existence and provide a ready parallel to the Untouchables of India and the Eta of Japan.

It is extremely urgent that a program be devised as soon as possible for the assimilation and betterment of the condition of these native American backward minorities. It is true that much good work along these lines has already been done by religious bodies and private agents but the real solution of the problem must await public recognition and government action. A local, State, and Federal policy will have to be developed after the public conscience has been awakened to the need. And this awakening rests on a thorough investigation and widespread public knowledge concerning these groups.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

Besides the major minority groups characterized in this memorandum there are many other mixed Indian peoples in the eastern States no less worthy of notice. A partial list of these follows:

Massachusetts	Mashpee, Pequot, Wampanoag.
Rhode Island	Narragansetts.
Connecticut	Mohegan, Pequot.
New York	Shinnecock, Poosapatuck.
Virginia	Adamstown Indians, Chickahominy, Issues, Mattaponi, Nansemond, Pamunkey, Poto-mac, Rappahanock, Skeetertown Indians, etc.
North Carolina	Machepunga
Alabama	Creeks

A SELECTED SAMPLE OF ATTITUDES OF LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOWARD THE NEGRO: A STUDY IN PUBLIC OPINION

GUS TURBEVILLE AND ROY E. HYDE

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THIS paper is the result of a test¹ administered to students, 212 in number, at Louisiana State University during the spring of 1945. Now, as never before, interest in attitudes toward the Negro is at a high pitch, and all results bearing on these attitudes are closely examined to detect new trends which may be forthcoming during the present fluid state of affairs.

The purpose of this paper is to throw some light on the opinion of students at a State university in

the Deep South as they are concerned with the place of the Negro in our society. It is realized that some of these students will be among the leaders of the new South, and how they feel on the "Negro question" is certainly of importance to forward-thinking individuals.

Inasmuch as this test was taken by only 212 students out of a total enrollment of 2,611 (8 percent sample), and inasmuch as most of the students (185) were female, it would not be fair to say that this test, by its results, gives an absolutely accurate presentation of opinion toward the Negro as found on the campus. However, it is safe to say that the results, even if they are not absolutely accurate, are at least indicative of the attitudes of Louisiana State University students.

¹ The writers are indebted to Dr. Charles S. Johnson for permission to use this test—a test which he has used in studies of his own. See Charles S. Johnson, "Racial Attitudes of College Students," *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, XXVIII (May, 1934), pp. 24-31.

METHOD

Most of the students tested were in sociology and psychology classes. They were told how the questionnaires were to be scored and were urged to work individually. The purpose of the test was explained to them, and as a result, their cooperation was splendid. The instructors of the various classes kindly consented to allow the students to take the tests during class time, and this arrangement encouraged the students to take their time in answering all the questions. The test was also given to a small number of students in dormitories, who were given the same instructions.

In its original form, the test or questionnaire was divided into four parts. In the first part were 28 statements that were to be marked true or false; in the second part were 44 statements that were to be marked true, partly true, false, or no opinion; in the third part were 19 statements that enumerated different kinds of direct contact that a person might have with the Negro, and the students were instructed "to underscore with one line each type of relationship which has been responsible for your acquaintance with Negroes, and with two lines the type of contact to which you have been most frequently exposed"; in the fourth part were 16 statements that described different kinds of indirect contact which a person might have with the Negro, and the students were asked to "underscore with one line each type which you remember as influencing your feeling toward the Negro in any way, and underscore with two lines the most important of these." To conclude the test a personal data section was called to the attention of the students, and in this section they were requested to give such information as age, sex, father's occupation, religion, political party, year in school, major subject, place of residence, etc. It was emphasized, however, that the students were not to give their names, and also that none of the statements had any right or wrong answers *per se*, but were right or wrong only in the sense that the students gave their honest opinions.

When all the tests were in, six statements were selected from the first section and six from the second section. It was thought that these twelve statements represented a fair cross-section of the questionnaire, and for purposes of simplicity, these were the only statements used in the final tabulation. These statements were scored according to the sex of the testees, their year in school, place of residence, major subject, size of place of longest residence, religion, and father's occupation.

RESULTS

The results are limited by the fact that the various colleges of the University were not represented in the proportion that the College of Arts and Sciences was, and also by the fact that most of the students were taking at least one course in liberal subjects such as sociology and psychology. Perhaps the results obtained are somewhat more liberal than would be the case if a more representative sample of the University were taken.²

In comparison with results obtained in other studies using this same test,³ the present results are extremely liberal. For instance, on the statement that the Negro should be granted full political equality, Powdermaker found that in a group of 159 junior college students in a southern school only five percent agreed with the statement, whereas the writers have discovered that approximately forty-two percent of the students tested at Louisiana State University marked the statement true. Again, Powdermaker found that eighty-five percent of the students in her sample thought that Negroes are inferior to white people in innate capacity, while the present study shows that only slightly over thirty-three percent of the L.S.U. students held such a belief.

Before one gets the idea that Louisiana State University students have gone all out for liberalism in dealing with the Negro, some other findings should be mentioned. Only a little less than nine percent of the students wanted to accept the Negroes now to complete social equality with white persons, and only slightly more than thirteen percent of the students felt that Negro and white children should be educated in the same schools. In addition, slightly over sixty-six percent of the students believed that racial intermarriage should be prohibited by law.

On most questions it was found that the females were more liberal than the males. For example, almost ten percent more of the females than males wanted to grant the Negro full political equality, and over twenty percent more of the males than females agreed that white men should not be required to work with Negroes. However, there were certain notable exceptions to this seeming sex difference. On the ultra-liberal statement that

² Detailed tabulations of the results may be had upon request from Roy E. Hyde, Louisiana State University.—Editors.

³ See Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom, A Cultural Study in the Deep South* (New York: The Viking Press, 1939), p. 381 ff.

Negroes should be accepted now to complete social equality with white persons, almost eleven percent more of the males than females agreed, and on the statement that Negro and white children should be educated in the same schools, over fourteen percent more of the males than females assented. Patrick and Sims⁴ in a study of the racial attitudes of three groups of students—northern students at a northern university, northern students at a southern university, and southern students at a southern university—found that in all three groups the girls were slightly more favorable in their attitudes toward the Negro than were the boys. However, the differences were slight for each group.

According to the year in school, it was found that the graduate students were by far the most liberal element, but this finding is largely invalidated by the extremely small sample of graduate students. Among the undergraduates, the seniors were significantly more liberal in their views on the Negro than were the others; the juniors were the next most liberal; then came the freshmen who were only slightly less liberal than the juniors; and finally came the sophomores, the most conservative group of all. However, it should be pointed out that the differences among the last three groups were very slight. In the study mentioned above, Patrick and Sims found that among the northern students in the northern university the upper-class students were slightly more favorable to the Negro in their attitudes than were the freshmen and sophomores; the southern students in a southern university were about the same in their views for all years in school; and strangely enough, among the northern students in a southern university there was a consistent drop in degree of favorableness as the students advanced through the various grades, thus indicating that the northern students were adopting some of the mores of the South.

When the statements were scored according to place of residence, it was found, as might be expected, that the students who were born outside the South or who had spent most of their lives outside the South were considerably more sympathetic in their feelings toward the Negro than were the strictly Southerners. More than thirty-eight percent more of the Southerners than others marked true the statement that as equals, the races cannot and will not exist together, and not too sur-

prisingly, over twenty-five percent more of the Southerners than others marked true the statement that the South should be allowed to settle the Negro problem without interference. This tendency was found in almost all the statements, but it should be brought out that only 27 of the 212 students were not Southerners. Referring again to the study made by Patrick and Sims,⁵ we find that "There is a decided difference between the average scores of the three groups, the northern students being most favorable, with a mean score of 6.7, the North-in-South group being less favorable with a mean score of 5.9, and the southern students least favorable with a mean of 5.0. . . . The differences found are statistically significant."

It was found that students majoring in social science courses were significantly more liberal in their attitudes toward the Negro than were the others. For instance, over nineteen percent less of the social science students than the others thought that the Negro's proper place is in manual work, and almost fourteen percent more of the social science students than others thought that Negro and white children should be educated in the same schools. On some questions, however, the two groups shared about the same views, and in one or two instances the non-social science students had a slightly more liberal score than did the social science students. For example, over four percent more of the social science students than others thought that white men should not be required to work with Negroes. Charles S. Johnson⁶ found in his studies on the same question that students majoring in courses such as sociology had more liberal views on the Negro subject than did students studying a course such as engineering, so these results are likely to be valid.

According to the size of place of longest residence, no consistent results could be obtained, but the tendency, however slight, was for those living in cities of over 50,000 inhabitants in size to be the most liberal, those living in towns having less than 2,500 population to be next most liberal, and those living in cities or towns having a population between 2,500 and 50,000 to be the most conservative. It should be emphasized, however, that while these results were not conclusive, further support is given this latter hypothesis by Patrick and Sims.⁷

Rather significant results were obtained as a result of the breakdown of questionnaires according to the religious faith of the students. In spite

⁴ James R. Patrick and Verner M. Sims, "Attitudes Toward the Negro of Northern and Southern College Students," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 7 (1936), pp. 192-204.

⁵ J. R. Patrick and V. M. Sims, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195.

⁶ Charles S. Johnson, *op. cit.*

⁷ J. R. Patrick and V. M. Sims, *op. cit.*

of the fact that one of the cardinal tenets of Christianity is the brotherhood of all mankind, two groups of largely non-Christians—Jews and non-religious or other than Protestant or Catholic—were more willing than the “Christians” to practice this prime doctrine of Christianity. It was found that the Jewish group, itself a conscious minority, was the most liberal of all the religious sects, the non-religious or other was the next most liberal, the Protestants next, and the Catholics the least liberal. The differences among all four of the groups were of enough magnitude to be considered significant although the difference between the Protestants and the Catholics was smaller than the other differences. On the individual statement that Christian brotherhood should disregard race lines, it is interesting to note that almost sixty-two percent of the Jews scored this statement as true in contrast to the approximately fifty-five and forty-four percents respectively of Protestants and Catholics who marked it as being true. Even these latter figures seem high when we consider how few of any religious faith disregard race lines.

When the questionnaires were scored according to the occupation of the father, it was found that the professional group was the most favorable in its attitude toward the Negro and that the farmer class was the least liberal. These differences were large enough to be significant, but the differences among the other occupational classes were not. Patrick and Sims⁸ in their study found no significant differences according to occupation of father, but they point out that their information on this subject was not as complete as they would have liked for it to have been.

CONCLUSIONS AND ANALYSIS

Over a decade ago, Charles S. Johnson, using this same test though treating the results differently, found that his results tended to cluster around a central point between favorableness and unfavorableness toward the Negro.⁹ It seems apparent from the results obtained by this study that the students at Louisiana State University, who are probably no different from other students at State universities throughout the Deep South, are moving from the middle toward a position more favorable toward the Negro. What are the factors that account for this change? And surely there

must be a change, for look at the results Powdermaker obtained by using the same test a few years ago at a junior college in the Deep South.¹⁰

Perhaps the war and the sex distribution on the campus have something to do with this more favorable attitude. But in some other places race conflicts are becoming more frequent, so if these are factors there are also other and perhaps more important factors that account for this anomaly. Perhaps liberal governors such as Ellis Arnold of Georgia, liberal congressmen such as Senator Pepper of Florida and Senator Fullbright of Arkansas, liberal college presidents such as former President Homer P. Rainey of the University of Texas, liberal professors such as are found in the sociology departments of some southern universities, liberal newspapers such as *The Nashville Tennessean* and the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and outstanding Negro educators such as those at Fisk University and at Tuskegee Institute are beginning to make their weight felt. However, the influences that are causing the more favorable attitudes toward the Negro in the South are not all emanating from within the South. Certainly federal directives concerning fair employment practices, radio commentators such as Drew Pearson, and personalities such as the late Wendell Willkie and the late Franklin D. Roosevelt do much to promote good will toward Negroes.

Finally, the findings of anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, and biologists are doing much to help us distinguish fact from fiction as it pertains to race. In larger and larger numbers, findings such as the following are confronting us: “Neither the mentality nor personality of peoples is determined by any racial characteristic such as the shape of the head, color of skin, texture of hair. All experiments and tests show that no one race can be considered inferior or superior to any other race. . . . Neither biological nor cultural difference necessarily connotes superiority or inferiority.”¹¹ Thus are the findings of anthropology summed up by one of its recognized students.

The South is entering a new era in its dealings with the Negro, and it will do well to profit from the research of its scientists. If not, the advancement of the new South will be made doubly difficult.

⁸ Charles S. Johnson, *op. cit.*

⁹ J. R. Patrick and V. M. Sims, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Hortense Powdermaker, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Hortense Powdermaker, “The Nine Laws of Race,” *Negro Digest*, III (April, 1945), pp. 75-76.

AN ELEMENTARY SYLLABUS IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE JEWS¹

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PREFACE

THE following pages constitute a syllabus to be used in connection with whatever college course the instructor who contemplates its adoption may deem appropriate. Courses in race relations, social disorganization, minorities, or, if the syllabus is treated more briefly, in introductory sociology, suggest themselves most readily. The document may be utilized either as a lecture and study outline for two or three class meetings or as a text core, in combination with the literature indicated or with other literature, for perhaps several weeks. Suggestions for using it in the latter capacity, or in a capacity somewhere between the two, are provided in the footnotes, which for this reason are somewhat lengthy.

The syllabus is called elementary because it is clearly partial in the selection of its topics; because it is very far from covering all facts about statistics of Jews and about the question of the Jewish "race" (Parts I and II); and because it does not try to arrive at a relatively final conclusion regarding the nature of antisemitism (Part III). Rather, with reference to numbers, it gives those figures which the author believes most important for an orientation regarding the distribution of the Jews in the world and, in particular, in the United States; with reference to the Jews as a "race," it presents those scientific findings which he believes can clarify this emotionally and politically charged question most

economically; and with reference to antisemitism, it assembles those hypotheses which in his opinion best lend themselves to attempts at understanding the nature of this puzzling phenomenon.

The same pedagogical reasons which determined the treatment of the three topics—statistics, "race," antisemitism—decided their selection, rather than that of others. The experience of the author has led him to believe that it is these three, more than other questions, which need clarification most urgently and from which others may in turn receive a clearer perspective. Again it should be noted that the suggestions, bibliographical and other, contained in the footnotes, will make it relatively easy for the instructor to discuss additional problems or particular aspects not dealt with in the syllabus but in which he or his students are especially interested.

Insofar as the author has striven to be objective, the syllabus may be called a scientific document; insofar as the topics are either sociological or represent sociological reactions to nonsociological errors, the title "sociology of the Jews," in spite of the elementary and selective character of the treatment, may be justifiable.

The author does not believe that education alone, however broadly applied, can eliminate antisemitism (cf. IIIF), but he thinks that education can play an important role in this task. More specifically, he does not believe that a study of the present document will remove the causes of antisemitism as they may be operative in the student of the syllabus, but he thinks that reading it may reinforce an objective attitude which the reader may already have, or that in some cases it may even arouse such an attitude.

PART I. SOME STATISTICS OF JEWS IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD²

- A. *World Distribution of Jews* (see Table 1).
- B. *Nazism and World War II and Jewish Popu-*

¹ This syllabus originated from notes for two lectures on the sociology of the Jews and of antisemitism given by the author in connection with Dr. Walter T. Watson's course on race relations at Southern Methodist University, June, 1943. It has since been tried out on several occasions and has been revised in the light of the experiences gathered, as well as brought up to date. The author is indebted to Dr. Carleton S. Coon, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, for a critical reading of a former draft and for several important suggestions, to Mr. Leo Shapiro, Director of the Department of Intercultural Relations of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Chicago, for a very close reading of this paper and for numerous criticisms, suggestions, and valuable bibliographical references, and to Dr. David Lefkowitz, Rabbi, Temple Emanu-El, Dallas, Texas, for bibliographical references.

² The instructor might want to point out some of the difficulties inherent in a census of Jews. For a brief elementary statement see *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 46, 1944-1945 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1944), p. 491; for a more comprehensive treat-

TABLE 1
JEWS IN THE WORLD

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY	GENERAL POPULATION	JEWISH POPULATION	PER- CENT JEWISH TO GEN- ERAL POPU- LATION ^a
	(in thousands)		
Americas.....	274,200 ^b	5,500 ^c	2.0
North America and and West Indies...	153,600 ^b	5,000 ^c	3.3
Continental United States.....	133,200 ^b	4,800 ^{c,d}	3.6
South and Central America.....	120,600 ^b	500 ^c	.4
Argentina ^e	13,500 ^b	350 ^c	2.6
Brazil ^e	42,500 ^b	111 ^c	.3
Europe.....	530,000 ^b	9,500 ^f	1.8
Africa.....	150,000 ^g	600 ^c	.4
Asia.....	1,100,000 ^g	800 ^c	.1
Palestine.....	1,500 ^b	425 ^c	28.3
Australasia.....	10,000 ^g	25 ^c	.3
Total.....	2,171,000 ^b	16,700 ^b	.8

^a Computed from preceding columns.

^b "World Population in Transition," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 237 (January, 1945).

^c *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol 46, 1944-1945 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1944).

^d 1943 estimate: 5,199,200 (*American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 46, l. c., p. 491, note).

^e South and Central American countries other than Argentina and Brazil have less than 50,000 Jews each.

^f Arieh Tartakower and Kurt R. Grossman, *The Jewish Refugee* (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress and World Jewish Congress, 1944), p. 337.

^g Lester E. Klimm, Otis P. Starkey, and Norman F. Hall, *Introductory Economic Geography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940), Statistical Appendix, Table I.

^h Arieh Tartakower, "The Jewish Refugees," *Jewish Social Studies*, 4 (October, 1942), p. 313.

lation. Between 1933 and 1943, more than three million Jews emigrated or were deported from their respective countries of residence in Europe—almost one-third of all European Jews, or close to

ment see Sophia M. Robison, "Methods of Gathering Data on the Jewish Population," in Sophia M. Robison, ed., *Jewish Population Studies* (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1943), pp. 1-9 for a critical analysis of statistical compilations of Jewish populations, see Jacob Lestchinsky, "Anent Statistics in the *American Jewish Year Book*," *Journal of Jewish Bibliography*, 3: 15-18, January-April, 1942.

18 percent of all Jews in the world. If one adds the Jews who migrated within their respective countries of residence, the figure is estimated to amount to 5,261,000, or more than 55 percent of all European Jews, and close to one-third of the total Jewish population of the world.³ Up to 1941 the emigrated or deported Jews included three-fourths of the Jews in Germany and Austria, and from ten to 40 percent, respectively, of the Jews in Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, France, and Belgium. Of this total number, approximately 800,000 Polish, Rumanian, and German Jews fled or were deported to Soviet Russia, and about 700,000 were admitted in other countries all over the world, including European countries, where many refugees stayed in expectation of their overseas visas and where many were caught after the outbreak of World War II.⁴ Between 1933 and 1943, among the various countries of immigration, the United States received the largest number, 190,000 or 23.5 percent of the total. Next ranks Palestine with 120,000 or 14.8 percent. The Western Hemisphere outside the United States received about 136,000 (17 percent); Europe, about 283,000 (35 percent); China, 25,000; Australia, 9,000; South Africa, 8,000.⁵ Almost 80,000, or half the Jewish refugees admitted to the United States between 1933 and 1941, came from Germany.⁶

Most of these figures, and thus likewise some of those contained in Table 1, will be obsolete once we can more definitely ascertain how many millions of Jews have lost their lives in Nazi-dominated Europe through starvation, extermination, and the hazards of migration. As of late 1945, a well-documented estimate is 5,978,000—almost 72 percent of all European,⁷ or 35 percent of all Jews in the world.

C. *Some Figures Pertaining to the Distribution of Jews in the United States.* The total Jewish population of the nine States shown in Table 2—3,758,950—represents 78.79 percent of the Jewish population of the United States (4,770,647), while

³ Arieh Tartakower and Kurt R. Grossman, *The Jewish Refugee* (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress and World Jewish Congress, 1944), p. 336, Table I.

⁴ Arieh Tartakower, "The Jewish Refugees," *Jewish Social Studies*, 4 (October, 1942), p. 314 ff.

⁵ Tartakower and Grossman, *op. cit.*, p. 343, Table III.

⁶ Tartakower, *op. cit.*, p. 316, Table III, and p. 321, Table VII.

⁷ Jacob Lestchinsky, *Balance Sheet of Extermination* (New York: Office of Jewish Information ["Jewish Affairs, Vol. I, No. 1, February 1, 1946"]), p. 10.

the total general population of these nine States—44,639,216 (1940)—represents only 33.90 percent of the 1940 total general population of the United States (131,669,275).

The concentration of the Jewish population appears even more conspicuous if it is shown that the number of Jews residing in the five States with the largest Jewish communities (New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts)—3,559,189—represents 74.61 percent of all Jews in the United States, while the general (1940) population of these five States—39,753,449—makes up only 30.19 percent of the total; hence the Jewish

munity size, being more than 100 times as high in the cities of 100,000 population and over as in rural unincorporated areas.

The Jewish population is even more highly concentrated in terms of its larger communities than in terms of its distribution by States. In 1937 there were 967 Jewish communities in the United States. Of these, 47 had 10,000 or more Jews each; the total population of these 47 communities—3,937,525—represented 82.54 percent of all Jews in the United States. Four Jewish communities (New York, 2,035,000; Chicago, 363,000; Philadelphia, 293,000; Boston, 118,000) had 100,000 or more population each and totaled 2,809,000 or 58.88 percent of all Jews in the United States, while the total general population of these four communities—13,553,913—represented only 10.29 percent of the total general population of the United States.

TABLE 2

STATES HAVING THREE PERCENT OR MORE JEWISH POPULATION (1937)*

STATE	JEWISH POPULATION	
	Number	Percent of general population
New York.....	2,206,328	16.70
New Jersey.....	267,970	6.50
Massachusetts.....	262,945	6.07
Connecticut.....	93,080	5.54
Illinois.....	387,330	4.96
Pennsylvania.....	434,616	4.43
Maryland.....	76,124	4.31
North Dakota.....	2,744	4.21
Rhode Island.....	27,813	4.02

* Source same as for Note c, Table 1. The percentages for the Jewish population are based on the total population for 1937 as estimated by the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

population is concentrated approximately two-and-a-half times as strongly as the general population.*

Table 3 shows that the percentage of Jews in the general population decreases with decreasing com-

* Here the instructor may point out the greater urbanization of the Jewish than of the general population by giving figures, or having his students compute figures, showing the relative percentages of Jewish and general population residing in the largest cities of the nine States listed in Table 2 or of the five States having the largest Jewish populations, or the relative percentages of Jewish and general population residing in urban places (of 2,500 population and over) throughout the nation or in selected regions or States. These computations would make the significance of Table 3 more explicit. All of them (or others which may readily suggest themselves to teacher or student) can be easily made from the latest edition of the *American Jewish Year Book*, *l. c.* (in the 1944-1945 edition [1944], from Tables V and VI), and from the latest Census.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF JEWS IN URBAN PLACES AND IN RURAL TERRITORY (1937)*

TYPE OF COMMUNITY AND AREA	PERCENT JEWISH TO GENERAL POPULATION
Population 100,000 and over....	10.94
25,000-100,000.....	2.77
10,000- 25,000.....	1.22
5,000- 10,000.....	.75
2,500- 5,000.....	.63
Rural Incorporated.....	.38
Rural Unincorporated.....	.10

* Source same as for Note c, Table 1.

D. Distribution of Jews in Our Own State. How are the Jews distributed in our own State?⁹ Texas, in 1937, had a population of 6,172,000, of which 49,196 or 0.8 percent, were Jews. According to the latest figures available (see Table 4), seven communities, representing 20.65 percent (1,324,418) of the total 1940 population of Texas (6,414,824), had (in 1937) 1,000 or more Jews each, or a total of 37,600, representing 76.43 per cent of all Jews in Texas.

E. Jewish Immigration to the United States. Three periods may be distinguished. From 1492 to 1815, approximately 15,000 mainly Sephardic (Spanish), Jews arrived. From 1815 to 1881, approximately 200,000, mainly German and

⁹ Since this syllabus was first used in Texas, that State was most interesting. The instructor will want to choose the State in which his school is located or he will want his students to compute the figures. This is done with the help of the sources mentioned in Note 8 above.

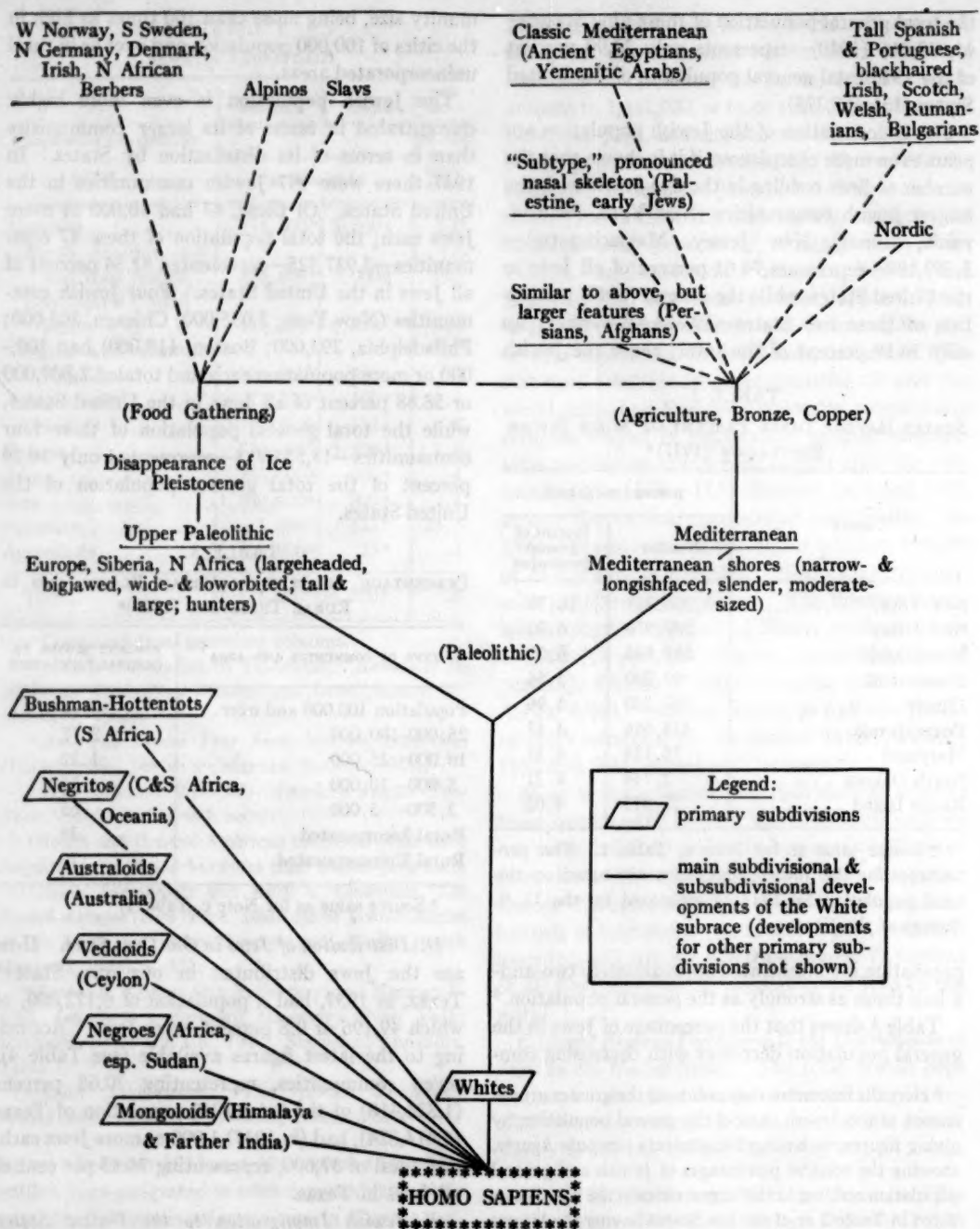


FIG. 1. PRIMARY SUBDIVISIONS OF MAN (HOMO SAPIENS) AND MAIN SUBDIVISIONAL DEVELOPMENTS OF WHITES. (Adapted from Carleton Stevens Coon, "Have the Jews a Racial Identity?" in Isaac Graeber and Stuart Henderson Britt, eds., *Jews in a Gentile World* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942), pp. 20-37.

Central European, Jews settled in this country—13 times as many in these 65 years as in the preceding 325 years. From 1881 to 1940, approximately 3,500,000, mainly Russian and other Eastern European, Jews found their home here—16 times as many in these 60 years as in the preceding 390 years, or 233 times as many as in the first 325 years of American history.¹⁰ While the average number of immigrants per decade, for these last 60 years, thus amounted to almost 585,000, it should be remembered that during the last decade (1933–1943), this number was less than one-third the average, namely, 190,000 (see *IB* above), in spite of the especially acute need for

allotted only limited quotas of immigrants to each country of emigration.¹¹

PART II. THE QUESTION OF THE JEWISH "RACE"¹²

The five (and other) subsubtypes of the Mediterranean subdivision (Figure 1, upper right corner) made up the population of ancient Palestine. As early as 50,000 B.C., according to recently found skeletons, individual differences made it untenable to speak of a Jewish subrace. Nevertheless, anthropometric measurements of contemporaneous Jews and surrounding populations in many parts of the world compel one to speak of a certain degree of ethnic identifiability of scattered Jewish groups, which seems to be irreconcilable with the above, but which can be explained by the relatively high degree of cultural separateness and endogamy of the Jews. In contrast to the Jews, other Mediterraneans who penetrated northward, e.g., the Etruscans, were wholly absorbed biologically and culturally; and yet it is probable that were one to make an intensive anthropometric study in Etruria (Tuscany) today, individuals with Etruscan features, if such could be defined, might be traceable.¹³

¹¹ If needed, a brief explanation of the quota regulations and their political background might be supplied here by the instructor. Any general encyclopedia article will be sufficient for the purpose. Some instructor may find it appropriate to call attention to some recent, though unsuccessful, attempts at admitting refugees outside the quotas.

¹² In this Part an attempt is made at disposing, on the basis of the latest scientific evidence available at the time of writing, of the question of the Jewish "race," the concept being used in its biological meaning. Some considerations of "race" as a sociological concept (in the sense of "race-conscious group," or similar) will be found in Part III, and more can be inferred, by instructor and students, from statements in that part.

¹³ I owe this suggestion to a personal communication (August 7, 1945) from Dr. Carleton S. Coon. In the same communication Dr. Coon writes: "One thing that impressed me very much in the Middle East during my [recent] service overseas was the greatly improved physique of the Jews of Central European stock born in Palestine. They are large, heavy boned, big chested, muscular, erect; fine physical specimens, with none of the narrow-chested-stooped appearance of some of their parents. Life out of doors, as farmers and ranchers, seems to have done them a lot of good, with better food and more sunlight." The instructor may want to make some statement on the influence of diet and environment upon physique, as first measurably demonstrated

TABLE 4
TEXAS COMMUNITIES HAVING 1,000 OR MORE JEWISH POPULATION

COMMUNITY	GENERAL POPULATION ^a	JEWISH POPULATION ^b	
		Number	Percent of general population
Dallas.....	294,734	10,400 ^c	3.6
San Antonio.....	253,854	6,900 ^c	2.7
Houston.....	384,514	10,000 ^d	2.6
El Paso.....	96,810	2,250 ^c	2.3
Waco.....	55,982	1,150 ^c	2.1
Galveston.....	60,862	1,200 ^c	2.0
Fort Worth.....	177,662	1,500 ^c	.8

^a 16th Census of the United States, 1940.

^b Source same as for Note c, Table 1.

^c 1937.

^d Local estimate, 1941.

^e Local estimate, 1943.

emigration from Europe. The paradox can be explained by the fact that since the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 the United States has

¹⁰ It would be desirable at this point that the instructor give some information about the uneven immigration of Jews to the United States, and especially about nineteenth-century events most relevant in this respect. An elementary text useful for this purpose is Lee J. Levinger, *A History of the Jews in the United States*, (Cincinnati: Department of Synagogue and School Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 2nd ed., 1935), especially pp. 12–16; see also Oscar I. Janowsky, ed., *The American Jew, A Composite Portrait* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers [1942]), pp. 5 ff.

Figure 2 gives a synopsis of the main Jewish migrations since 1000 B. C., thus providing a bird's-eye view of their present-day distribution as well as of their history.¹⁴

The Yiddish-speaking ("Jewish," i.e., stationary medieval German plus elements of surrounding languages and some Hebrew) Ashkenazim (see Figure 2) are more differentiated among each other than are the Sephardim, but are less differentiated among each other than from the surrounding non-Jewish populations. The Sephardim are more similar to Yemenitic, Mesopotamian, and other Oriental Jews than to Spaniards. During the course of history all strains of which the Jews are

composed have re-emerged, the most outstanding ones being Nordic, Alpine, and Eastern Mediterranean. Jews are much more like Italians, French, Spanish, than like Germans and Slavs, due to the "accidents" (anthropologically speaking) of their migrations. In conclusion: the Jews are not a "race" in the sense that Nordic or Alpine may be called such, but a "group of people as united biologically as is the average intermarrying social or geographical unit [e.g., Bavarians, Ukrainians, Swabians, etc.,] living in relative isolation over a relatively long period of time] found among white peoples."¹⁵

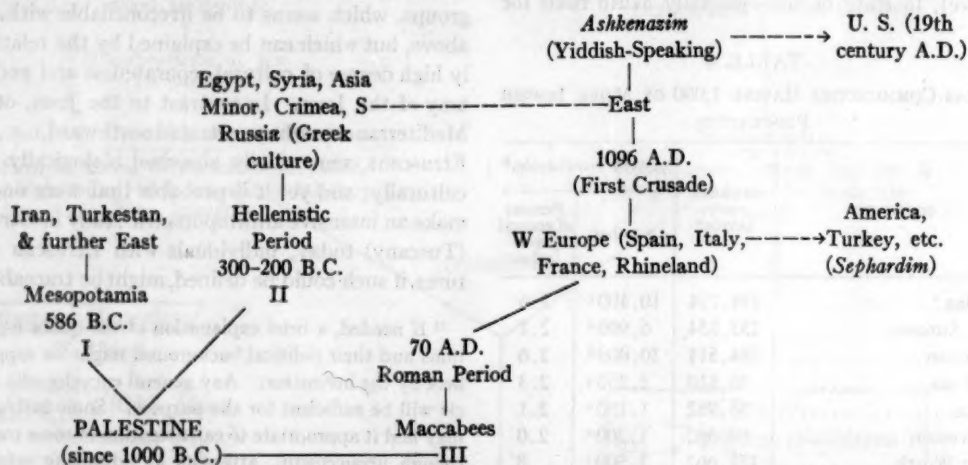


FIG. 2. THE THREE GREAT EMIGRATIONS FROM PALESTINE AND FURTHER MAIN MIGRATIONS OF THE JEWS. (SOURCE: SAME AS FOR FIGURE 1.)

in Franz Boas's well-known *Abstract of the Report on Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants* (The Immigration Commission, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911). For classroom purposes this paper is easily available in abstracted form in A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman, *Source Book in Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931), and in Franz Boas, *Race, Language and Culture* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940). Or the instructor may want to limit himself to a briefer and more general discussion of the influence of environment, in the widest sense of the word, on variability; thereby he may want to avail himself of the brief and elementary but illuminating treatment in William F. Ogburn and Meyer N. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940), pp. 82-84.

¹⁴ Here the instructor may want to apply a general "race"-relations theory to the Jews, and particularly to their history. Thus, e.g., one might view Jewish history in the light of Park's ideas about "race" relations and their poles, isolation and assimilation (cf. Robert E. Park, "Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups

with Particular Reference to the Negro," *American Journal of Sociology*, 19: 606-623, March, 1914, and other writings of his), somewhat as follows: a first phase, from about 1000 B.C. to the early Hellenistic period, is characterized by isolation (Palestinian state) and, later, by increasing contacts, leading to a second phase of, first, voluntary isolation (the voluntary beginnings of the Ghetto, to escape religious conversion, in the later Hellenistic stage), then compulsory isolation (throughout the Middle Ages); the third phase, Emancipation, is one of assimilation, which in turn is replaced by (Nazi) isolation and extermination, as well as by partly voluntary, partly compulsory isolation (Zionism).—Or the instructor may examine the applicability, to Jewish history or to certain phases of it, or to certain aspects of Jewish-Gentile relations, of Emory S. Bogardus' Race Relations Cycle ("A Race-Relations Cycle," *American Journal of Sociology*, 35: 612-617, January, 1930).—Other similar investigations will easily suggest themselves.

¹⁵ Carleton S. Coon, "Have the Jews a Racial Identity," in Isacque Graeber and Steuart Henderson Britt,

It should be pointed out that, racist literature to the contrary, "Aryan" is a language (not a "race"), and its origin is as unknown as is that of the prehistoric peoples who spoke it. It is the assumed parent-tongue of the Indo-European languages. Thus the Yiddish language is as "Aryan" as are German, English, or Kurdish, or hosts of other languages, dead and living.

PART III. ANTISEMITISM¹⁶

A. Some important features of the religio-cultural heritage of the Jews.

1. God, originally probably local, early became the "Lord of Hosts," the commander of his soldiers, the Jews.
2. The interpreters of God's will were the priests, Levites, who developed the Torah, an elaborate body of laws which undifferentiatedly embody divine right (*fas*) and "everyday" right (*jus*).
3. The Prophets devaluated the sacrificial elements of the Jewish religion and further elevated the Torah. "Israel (the Jews) and the Law (the Torah) are one."
4. The universality of God, who avails himself of Assyria-Babylonia or of other peoples to punish the Jews for not having adhered strictly enough to the Torah, is a culture trait which prevented the Jews from becoming merely a religious sect and made them a nation or people—a people without territory and, subsequently, without a common language (Hebrew becoming, for the great majority, only a ritual language, if used at all).

B. Characteristics of the Jews explicable in the light of their cultural heritage (see above) and of their post-Biblical history.¹⁷

1. Intellectualism, i.e., respect for learning due

eds., *Jews in a Gentile World* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 35. For another physical anthropologist's concise and readable analysis of the racial position of the Jews see William Howells, *Mankind So Far* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1944), pp. 241-243.

¹⁶ This part is largely based on Graeber and Britt, eds., *op. cit.* For reasons of space it is presented in outline form. Notes provide bibliographical references for classroom discussion, reports, term papers, and further study generally.

¹⁷ History of the Ghetto and Jewish settlement patterns and personality types, especially in Chicago: Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

to high regard for the Torah and its study and to the necessity of reconciling conditions of the time with Torah teachings; hence legalistic and casuistic character of learning. (Legal heritage elaborated and incorporated in Talmud—literally, "study," "instruction," "doctrine"; nonlegal tradition, e.g., interpretations of scriptural passages, legends, historical notes, epigrams, theological discussions, integrated in the Midrashim—literally, "investigation," "interpretation.")

2. Business sense, developed because Jews were for long times and at many places prohibited from agriculture and, therefore, compelled to live in urban communities.¹⁸

¹⁸ For more general information: relevant articles in *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, and other encyclopedias; Salo W. Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 3 vols., and *The Jewish Community* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1942), 3 vols.; Cecil Roth, *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization* (Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1940); Uriah Z. Engelman, *The Rise of the Jew in the Western World* (New York: Behrman's 1944) (largely demographic); *American Jewish Year Book*, l. c., Arthur Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1934).—For the history of the Jewish America: Levinger, *op. cit.*; Peter Wiernik, *History of the Jews in America* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1930); *Americans, All: A Short History of American Jews* (Chicago: Anti-Defamation League, n.d.); Anita L. Lebeson, *Jewish Pioneers in America, 1492-1848* (New York: Brentano's, 1931).—For economic and occupational aspects of Jewish life in the United States: Editors of *Fortune*, *Jews in America* (New York: Random House, 1936); Jacob Lestchinsky, "The Position of the Jews in the Economic Life of America," in Graeber and Britt, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 402-416; Nathan Reich, "Economic Trends," in Oscar I. Janowsky, ed., *The American Jew, A Composite Portrait*, l. c., pp. 161-182 (see also *ibid.*, pp. 294-295, for bibliography on the occupational distribution of Jews); several articles in *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. I, 1939 ff.; Gabriel Davidson, *Our Jewish Farmers and the Story of the Jewish Agricultural Society* (New York: L. B. Fischer, 1943) (Jewish farmers and the Jewish farm movement in the United States; a little-known aspect of Jewish life); Sophia M. Robison, *Jewish Population Studies*, l. c. (socio-economic and demographic studies of Jewish communities in Trenton, Passaic, Buffalo, New London, Norwich, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Minneapolis, and San Francisco). The last-named book not only contains information on economics and occupations but also throws light on Jewish community life in the cities discussed.—More comprehensive Jew-

Trade and, particularly, peddling, pawnbroking, and moneylending, were prohibited (only later stigmatized) to non-Jews.

3. Hypersensitivity, more intensive than among other "minorities," resulting from a

ish community studies: Leonard Bloom, "The Jews of Buna," in Graeber and Britt, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 180-199 (medium-sized metropolitan center of American industrial Midwest); Samuel Koenig, "The Socioeconomic Structure of An American Jewish Community," *ibid.*, pp. 200-242 (Stamford, Connecticut); Jessie Bernard, "Biculturalism: A Study in Social Schizophrenia," *ibid.*, pp. 264-293 ("Milltown, Winnemac"; stimulating social-psychological theory); Uriah Z. Engelman, "Medurbia," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, 4: 339-348, 511-521, August and October, 1941 (statistical-average Jewish community in the United States); David G. Mandelbaum, "A Study of the Jews of Urbana," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, 12: 223-232, December, 1935; Bessie Bloom Wessel, *An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); Hartford Communal Study Committee, *Hartford Jewish Communal Study 1937-1938*, Hartford, 1938; Joseph M. Papo, "The Jewish Community of Duluth," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, 18: 219-231, December, 1941; Harold Orlansky, "The Jews of Yankee City," *Commentary*, 1: 77-85, January, 1946; Kurt H. Wolff, "Traditionalists and Assimilationists: A Sample Study of the Jewish Population in Dallas, Texas," *Studies in Sociology* (Southern Methodist University), 4: 20-25, Summer, 1940 (predominantly statistical); David G. Mandelbaum, "The Jewish Way of Life in Cochon," *Jewish Social Studies*, 1: 423-460, October, 1939 (history and social life of contemporary Cochon in Southwestern British India, an old largely isolated Jewish community); M. J. Karpf, *Jewish Community Organization in the United States* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1938); Abraham G. Duker, "Structure of the Jewish Community," in Janowsky ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 134-160. The two last-named items deal largely with Jewish organizations.—Jewish organizations: *American Jewish Year Book*, l. c.; with special reference to refugees: Tartakower and Grossman, *op. cit.*, *passim* and especially chaps. XIII and XIV; on Zionism: *American Jewish Year Book*, l. c.; Sulamith Schwartz, "Zionism in American Jewish Life," in Janowsky, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 231-250; for classics in Zionist literature consult encyclopedias listed above.—Americanization of refugees from Nazism: Gerhart Saenger, *Today's Refugees, Tomorrow's Citizens* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941) (much concrete, but scarce statistical, material).—Intermarriage: Milton L. Barron, "The Incidence of Jewish Inter-marriage in Europe and America," *American Sociological Review*, 11: 6-13, February, 1946 (contains many bibliographical references).

long tradition of being torn between pride and humiliation—pride in the mission to represent monotheism (whose extreme formulation is the idea of the "chosen people"), humiliation because prevented from instituting a national state of their own.

These three characteristics appear to be more nearly objective than many others frequently attributed to the Jews, i.e., they are less created by a hostile attitude toward the Jews, are less biased, less mere stereotypes. For other "characteristics," see IIIE2e below.

- C. Some important characteristics of contemporary Western society, especially the United States.

1. Urbanization; industrialization; importance of occupation (job); breakdown of *Gemeinschaft*, i.e., importance of secondary contracts and complication of the social and economic order; nationalism; social disorganization and susceptibility to psychosis and faddism (e.g., Father Divine, Ku Klux Klan).

2. United States:

- a. Mores of White, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, rather than indiscriminate, equality.
- b. The broad base of low-economic, low-status jobs within the occupational pyramid is the seat of potential frustration; outlets for this frustration disappeared with the passing of the Frontier and with the decline of large-scale immigration (no new immigrants for earlier immigrants to look down upon—cf. Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*).

- D. Jews in contemporary United States.

1. Fallacy that Jews control basic industries; true that Jews are overrepresented in some parts of New York City and in some occupations—motion pictures, department stores, clothing, and less so in some others (theater, press, law, medicine).
2. Occupations in which Jews are overrepresented are themselves conspicuous, i.e., give social and economic prestige; also they are the ones that developed in the urbanized, non-*Gemeinschaft* sphere with its lesser discrimination against the Jews plus the Jews' greater skills in these occupations; possibly latent rural (and *Gemeinschaft*)-urban (secondary-contact society) tension channelled into, and exploited by, anti-semitism.

E. Sociology and psychology of modern anti-semitism.¹⁹

¹⁹ Graeber and Britt, eds., *op. cit.* (perhaps best single book on antisemitism and other problems of the Jews from the social-science, especially sociological, viewpoint); especially recommended: Talcott Parsons, "The Sociology of Modern Anti-Semitism," pp. 101-122; J. F. Brown, "The Origin of the Anti-Semitic Attitude," pp. 124-148; Miriam Beard, "Anti-Semitism—Product of Economic Myths," pp. 362-401; J. O. Hertzler, "The Sociology of Anti-Semitism through History," pp. 62-100 (rich in illustration but less important as theory); Anonymous, "An Analysis of Jewish Culture," pp. 243-263 (characteristics of Jewish and non-Jewish, especially American, cultures). The most useful all-around books on antisemitism are probably Hugo Valentin, *Antisemitism, Historically and Critically Examined* (New York: The Viking Press, 1936), and Lee J. Levinger, *Anti-Semitism, Yesterday and Tomorrow* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936) (good short bibliography). Best in its "historical and regional studies" is Koppel S. Pinson, ed., *Essays on Antisemitism* (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1942). Of the various pertinent articles in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, those on "Antisemitism" by Benjamin Ginzburg and on "Race Conflict" by Hans Kohn are especially worthy of study. Valuable insights are found in Milton Steinberg, *A Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1945), pp. 44-112; helpful data on specifics: Sigmund Livingston, *Must Men Hate?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944); see also *Questions and Answers Concerning the Jew* (Chicago: Anti-Defamation League, 1942), and *Answers for Americans: "They Say the Jews..."* (Los Angeles: University Religious Conference, n.d.). Of the many historical studies, in addition to Pinson, *op. cit.*, may be mentioned: James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origin of Anti-Semitism* (London, 1934), and Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943). A useful brief introduction to the sociological view of antisemitism is M. Ginsberg, "Anti-Semitism," *Sociological Review* (British), 35: 1-11, January-April, 1943. More factual, and with reference to the United States, are Alexander Lesser, "Anti-Semitism in the United States," *Journal of Negro Education*, 10: 545-556, July, 1941 (especially contemporary antisemitism), and Max Meenes, "American Jews and Anti-Semitism," *ibid.*, 557-566 (especially valuable for its summary of numerous sociological and psychological surveys and tests). Antisemitism as an instrument of fascist power: David W. Petegorsky, "The Strategy of Hatred," *Antioch Review*, 1: 376-388, September, 1941. Antisemitism, from the standpoint of social psychology, viewed as a psychosis: Read Bain, "Sociopathy of

Note: The term "anti-Semitism" was first used in 1879 by the German Wilhelm Marr.

1. Antisemitism as a social-psychological phenomenon can perhaps be best conceived of as passing through one or both of the following cycles:

Cycle 1: (a) Mos of antisemitism, (b) stereotype of Jew, (c) intensification of stereotyped Jewish traits, (d) intensification of hostility, (e) mos of antisemitism; cycle repeats.

Cycle 2: (a) Social disorganization, (b) insecurity, (c) frustration, (d) explosion of ingroup-outgroup tension, (e) hostile "racial" attitude, (f) stereotype of Jew, (g) intensification of stereotyped Jewish traits, (h) intensification of hostility, (i) social disorganization; cycle repeats.

2. Jews as scapegoats for frustration.

a. Jews are different from non-Jews: Jewish religion only non-Christian religion among Christians; no intermarriage; dietary habits; circumcision (perhaps attenuated castration increasing Jew's inferiority feeling and at the same time increasing non-Jew's fear of Jew?); physiognomy.

b. Jews are like non-Jews: same God; same holy book (Old Testament); "family quarrel"; Jews are cultural and biological equals of non-Jews, hence conflict is more emotional than in case of White-Black White-Yellow relations which on the

Anti-Semitism," *Sociometry*, 6: 460-464, November, 1943. More specifically, but probably more debatably, antisemitism as unconscious hatred of Christ and Christianity: Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939) (historically and hence fundamentally, unconvincing), and Maurice Samuel, *The Great Hatred* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941) (more plausible, be it only because without Freud's historical commitments). A study of American antisemitic organizations in the thirties: Donald S. Strong, *Organized Anti-Semitism in America* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941). Literature on Nazi atrocities and Jewish life in Nazi-dominated Europe is numerous. On the latter topic, there are several valuably objective papers in *Jewish Social Studies*; as to the former, mention may be made of *The Black Book of Poland*, Issued by the Polish Ministry of Information (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942); of Leib Spiesman, "In the Warsaw Ghetto," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, 4: 357-366, August, 1941; and of S. Moldawer, "The Road to Lublin," *ibid.*, 3: 119-133, March-April, 1940.

whole can be better understood in terms of mere social distance.

- c. Face-to-face ubiquity: Jews everywhere present; antisemitism everywhere readily understood (not a "domestic" affair).
- d. Traditional scapegoat: ready availability of familiar channel of frustration (mos).
- e. Characteristics of Jews transformed into hostile stereotypes:

Close attachment of Jews to Jewish culture becomes lack of attachment to "adopted" country (especially true in strongly nationalistic environments).

Bargaining ingenuity becomes "sharpness," "skinflinty," "smartness," "diabolical cleverness."

Jewish solidarity becomes "clannishness," "double morality," "Jewish world conspiracy" (*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*).

Economic success makes all Jews money-bags.

Conspicuousness in certain occupations, especially in public entertainment, makes all Jews "show-offs," "loud," "egotistic."

Past migratory experience and adaptability of Jewish culture everywhere make Jews "cosmopolitan," "radical," but also "international plutocrats" and "capitalists."

- f. Christ: killed by Jews, as many Christian children are taught in their religious-school textbooks;²⁰ at the same time, Christ a Jew who must be loved; frustration resulting from this ambivalence readily diverted toward Jews (cf. Samuel, *op. cit.*, in Note 19).

- g. Economic myths: "the guileless Gentile" (who had no part in the formation of "capitalism"); the "myth of Solomon" (whose wealth proves the existence of a Jewish business empire in Biblical times); the "myth of Shylock" (the Jew as the bloodsucker); the "international financier" (the Jew controls the finances of the world); mainly initiated by Werner Sombart and all untenable before even a

slight knowledge of economics and history.

These and other points are elements in vicious circles, i.e., they provoke the Jews to become, from self-defense and insecurity, more like the hated stereotypes, thus increasing hostility, etc. (see IIIE1 above). Psychologically, antisemitism works via the mechanisms of displacement (Jew, instead of true object of antagonism, is the target), of projection (Jew is accused of one's own motives), and of rationalization (Jews are inferior, anti-Christ, Bolsheviks, etc.).

- h. Jews as scapegoats in outstanding crises of modern history: 1096 A. D., first Crusade (large-scale emigration of Jews to the East started; see Figure 2); 1241, Mongolian invasion of Europe up to Silesia; 1348-50, Black Death; 1575, depression; 1618-48, Thirty Years' War; 1873, depression, followed by the formation of antisemitic parties, by antisemitic massacres and legislation in Russia, and by large-scale emigration of Russian Jews to the United States (cf. IE above).

F. A possible policy regarding antisemitism.

Long-range and widespread sociological and psychological understanding by Jews and non-Jews alike, of antisemitism and of all problems involved in it may eventually attenuate ingroup-outgroup tension.²¹ But such under-

²¹ Cf. *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2, both dealing, in non-technical language, with "Racial and Religious Prejudice in Everyday Living" and containing many valuable cases and policy suggestions regarding majority-minority relations, including the Jewish minority.—For forecasts regarding the fate of Jews: Jacob Lestchinsky, "The Post-War Outlook for Jewry in Europe," *Menorah Journal*, 30: 13-37, Winter, 1942 (mainly economic); Salo W. Baron, "Reflections on the Future of the Jews in Europe," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, 3: 355-369, July-August, 1940 (postwar plans); Morris R. Cohen, "Jewish Studies of Peace and Post-War Problems," *ibid.*, 4: 110-125, April, 1941 (problems needing study and planning); *Jewish Post-War Problems, A Study Course*, Prepared by the Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Planning of The American Jewish Committee (eight pamphlets, 1942-43: I, "Why Study Post-War Problems"; II, "The Two World Wars—A Comparison and Contrast"; III, "How the Jewish Communities Prepared for Peace During the First World War"; IV, "Europe between the Two World Wars"; V, "The Position of the Jews in the Post-War World"; VI

²⁰ The later edition of the widely used Baltimore catechism (Rev. Francis J. Connell, *Father Connell's, The New Baltimore Catechism No. 3* [New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1943]) nowhere contains a statement to the effect that Jews killed Christ—a fact contrary to a belief popular among non-Catholics.

standing will be possible only if efforts toward it are linked up with the elimination of the more tangible causes of frustration (economic and technological) and of the

moral causes of frustration (especially the obstructions to participation, or adequate participation, in democracy).

"Palestine in the New World"; VII, "Relief, Reconstruction and Migration"; VIII, "Jewish Survival in the Democracy of the Future").—Jewish life in a democracy: H. M. Kallen, "National Solidarity and the Jewish Minority," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 223: 17-28, September, 1942 (democracy seen as an orchestra, minorities being

its integrating voices); contributions of numerous minorities, including the Jewish, to American culture: Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Roucek, eds., *One America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1945) (subtitle, "The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities").—The instructor may want to call the attention of students who desire to follow Jewish current events to *Commentary* (formerly *Contemporary Jewish Record*) (monthly).

SOCIAL SECURITY INSTITUTES

The Division of Public Welfare and Social Work of the University of North Carolina and the Committee on Education and Social Security of the American Council on Education announce three institutes on social security for August 1946 in Chapel Hill.

The first institute, August 5-13, is for administrative personnel in public assistance, unemployment compensation, employment services, and old age and survivors insurance. The second, August 15-24, is for members of faculties in graduate and undergraduate departments of the social sciences, as well as members of faculties in schools of law, public administration, social administration, and social work. The third institute, August 27-30, is for local administrators in public assistance, unemployment compensation, and old age and survivors insurance. (Although primarily for local administrators, this institute will also be open to the same group as the first institute. The fee for each of the first two institutes is \$15.00; and for the third, \$5.00.

Information and application should be addressed to the Director, Division of Public Welfare and Social Work, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

The third annual Institute of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association will convene at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, for a three-week period from July 1 to July 20.

A distinguished group of top national figures from the fields of government, religion, social service, education, the press and radio, and industry and labor will constitute the Institute's leadership.

Following an initial period of orientation in the scientific background of race and race relations, the Institute will resolve itself into seminars and panels to work out practical action programs for harmonious group living.

The Institute is designed for persons in various fields—educators, social and religious workers, labor and civic group leaders, governmental employees, journalists, members and staff workers of interracial committees, youth leaders, advanced students and other interested persons.

Application for membership may be addressed to Charles S. Johnson, Director, Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

SUMMER INSTITUTE ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

Dates for the Second Summer Institute on the United States in World Affairs have been set as June 24 through August 2, 1946. Like last summer's initial venture, this year's Institute will bring more than one hundred teachers from all parts of the United States to the nation's capital to hear lectures on current affairs, to study methods and materials of teaching current problems, and to observe the federal government in operation.

In the basic series of lecture-discussion sessions, attention will be equally divided between national and international problems. Representative of the many current topics scheduled for consideration are: governmental reorganization, labor-management relations, inflation, housing, control of atomic energy, the UNO, trusteeships and dependent areas, relations among the Big Three powers, and international economic relations. Lectures will be given by authorities in the fields covered, including government officials, university professors, and journalists.

Teachers enrolled as members of the Institute may arrange to earn six semester hours of graduate credit, or they may enroll as auditors. The Institute is sponsored by The American University of Washington, D. C. Sessions will be held on the university campus, where facilities are also available for housing Institute members. Visits will be made to Congress, embassies and legations, and government departments and agencies which deal with the several subjects included in the Institute program.

Teachers who wish to attend the Institute either as auditors or as students for graduate credit should write as soon as possible to: Walter E. Myer, Director, Institute on the United States in World Affairs, 1733 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

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ALL THESE PEOPLE. THE NATION'S HUMAN RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH. By Rupert B. Vance in collaboration with Nadia Danilevsky. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. 503 pp. \$5.00. Maps, charts, and tables.

In a letter dated July 5, 1938 to members of the Conference on Economic Conditions in the South, President Roosevelt wrote, "It is my conviction that the South presents right now the Nation's No. 1 economic problem—the Nation's problem, not merely the South's." At about the same time (for the book "has been more than seven years in the making" and more than a year in printing and binding) Dr. Vance began work on *All These People* which documents the important social and economic differentials between the South and the remainder of the Nation. Had this splendid book been available when the President wrote there should have been less questioning of his statement, and more support for the Committee's report which appeared a few weeks later.

The first four sections of *All These People* contain a wealth of excellent material describing the recent situation, analyzing the causes which brought it about, and laying the basis for judging changes which appear desirable if the differentials unfavorable to the South are to be narrowed substantially. The population section deals particularly with distribution, composition, fertility trends, and the large natural increase which has outstripped the expansion of opportunities to earn a living, has depressed incomes, and has led to the migration of millions of Southerners to other regions. The discussion of agriculture relates to the land use pattern, the supporting capacity of the crop system, farm "power" and tenancy. The section on industry brings out the differentials between the South and other regions in wealth, value of product, wages, employment and unemployment, and occupational distribution. Three chapters are devoted to a careful consideration of the development of industry in the Catawba Valley and in the High Point Area, and the effects on population and agriculture. The discussion of cultural adequacy centers on health and vitality, the availability of medical and hospital services, the public health program, grades of school completed, educational facilities and finances, and leadership (judged by professional persons and "notables"). In the final section Vance discusses the relation between social research, public policy formation, and social planning, and suggests the regional goal to be sought: The Nation's future for the South. No attempt is

made to show how it can be achieved; "the social studies aspire to be sciences while the determination of public policy [and presumably its implementation] must remain an art."

Some of the less technical readers may be predisposed to believe that regional differentials have no significance unless they apply on a color basis. Although Vance and Danilevsky make many regional comparisons by color they take the sound stand (in the reviewer's opinion) that differentials in terms of *all the people* should be lessened. For example not only should the distribution of southern white persons and that of southern Negroes by highest grade of school completed be brought more nearly in line with those of the Nation, but the same should be done for the distribution of all Southerners where the lag is greater than for either group individually.

The authors have used tables and charts freely. The 146 tables contain a vast amount of statistical material which buttresses the argument and provides worthwhile detail for the student. The 281 figures should be of much help to the more general reader in assimilating the ideas presented in the text. Most of the tables and charts are excellent; a few, however, have ambiguous titles (e.g. Fig. 154) or have been reduced so greatly that the scale and legends are illegible (e.g. Fig. 274).

The eight years which elapsed between the beginning of the book and its release from the press probably explain the fact that some of the statistical material is not as up-to-date as is desirable. In several places 1940 census data could be used to advantage instead of 1930 data, (e.g. marital condition, Fig. 59; occupational distribution, Fig. 98; and population and agriculture; Fig. 104). Similarly, it would be preferable to use more recent birth and death rates in several places (e.g. years after 1939 in Fig. 3, where the birth rate is shown as decreasing instead of increasing from 1939 to 1940; 1939-41 instead of 1929-31 in Fig. 196). In most cases the differentials in question were approximately the same on the later date as the earlier, but many readers will not know this, hence may underrate the timeliness of the material. In some cases, however, the use of more recent data would permit more desirable comparisons. For example the information presented on regional differentials in the facilities for higher education in 1937-38 (p. 440-1), based on ratios of (a) persons enrolled in college by location of college to (b) persons of college age by place of residence, should be supplemented by information regarding

the smaller differentials in the *obtaining* of higher education in 1940 based on ratios of (c) persons aged 20-24 attending school to (d) all persons aged 20-24, computed on a residence basis from census data. A similar statement applies to the regional comparisons of the sex ratio of college students. Again, the discussion of the hypothetical profligacy distribution of women under continuing conditions as of 1929-31 (pp. 97-99) should be buttressed with or replaced by data on the actual distribution of women by number of children ever born from the 1940 census reports. In view of the vast amount of time and effort devoted to the preparation of the book it seems unfortunate to this reviewer that a relatively small number of sentences, paragraphs, tables, and figures were not brought up to date in the year before printing began.

In the section on agriculture the authors have drawn heavily (as is necessary) on census data, and have followed the classification used with few exceptions in the 1940 and prior census tables which places croppers with independent farmers rather than in an intermediate group between wage hands and share or cash tenants in the socio-economic hierarchy, and considers the land worked by croppers as constituting independent farms rather than as being part of larger landholdings. Unfortunately, the result is that not only are all of the regional comparisons involving number of farms distorted (e.g. acres per farm; value of products sold, traded, and used per farm), but the trends shown for the South are biased since 1930 by the strong tendency of southern farmers to shift from the cropper basis to the wage basis of hiring labor. Some of the agricultural trends are biased also because thousands of people working in other industries than agriculture have established homes in the country during the last decade or two and have grown enough of their food to have their holdings classified as farms in the census. Basing comparisons on farms of ten acres or more would be a practical way to reduce this bias in some cases.

Although the statistical material is handled excellently on the whole there are a few questionable presentations and conclusions, partly in connection with references to studies of others. In discussing death rates (e.g. pp. 336 and 375) and natural increase (e.g. p. 74) attention might well be called to the influence of unregistered deaths, for they have exceeded 20 percent of all deaths in certain southern rural areas in some years and are more

numerous relatively for colored than white persons. The percentages for fertility and infertility quoted on p. 91 are (respectively) raised and lowered substantially when allowance is made for nonregistered births. Standardizing for age, and relating deaths from "congenital malformations and diseases of early infancy" to births instead of the total population, probably would make some important changes in Table 98 and the accompanying discussion. "... the standardized death rate increases regularly with the size of the city" (p. 345) may have been true formerly, but now is too sweeping a generalization; in 1940 the opposite was true for the colored population, and in both 1940 and 1941 the standardized death rate of the total population was lower in large cities (100,000 and over) than in small cities (2,500 to 10,000). The proportion of foreign born whites among the dead "notables" in the Dictionary of American Biography (p. 448) should be compared with the proportion of foreign born whites in the age groups which supply the notables rather than with the proportion in the entire population. To have a self-replacing population does not "require that about 40 percent of the married women bear four or more children," (p. 474) for as mentioned earlier in the paragraph if each *fertile married woman* has three children the population will be maintained. If these items seem numerous, one should remember that they refer to a very small fraction of the book, and do not affect significantly the conclusions which the reader should form.

Finally, in the reviewer's opinion no thinking person can read *All These People* without feeling strongly that various things should be done to improve conditions in the South. It is to be hoped that the book will be read not only by most of the teachers and students working in the social science field but also by many of the persons who are in a position to influence policy formation and social planning in the near future. The impact should be great.

P. K. WHELPTON

Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems

FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING. By Barbara Wootton. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. 180 pp. \$2.00.

Miss Wootton sets out admittedly to criticize the main tenets of Hayek's *Road to Serfdom*. Coming from a well-known English economist, this makes *Freedom Under Planning* a significant

volume. The fact that it is keenly reasoned, closely organized, and concisely stated renders it doubly important.

Perhaps because of his economic jargon, or his European reputation, or because he said what many wanted to hear who are best able to buy books—and buy them in some quantity, too—probably for all of these reasons Hayek has had quite an inning. Aside from a few remaining die-hard classical economists, he probably persuaded few social scientists to his thesis that planning inevitably leads to loss of freedom. Miss Wootton quite neatly picks flaws in his arguments. Yet her realistic treatment leaves one in considerable doubt as to whether modern nations actually will preserve the several kinds of individual freedom as they necessarily move farther into national economic planning.

Leaving the theoretical armchair, the author defines and discusses the impact of planning upon the several elemental kinds of freedom which individuals can enjoy. *Cultural freedom* involves freedom of speech and religion. *Civil freedom* is exemplified by *habeas corpus* and the right to trial by an impartial jury. *Political freedom* involves the ballot and unhampered opportunity to participate in political party activities. *Economic freedom* is dealt with at much more length, chapters being devoted to freedom to spend and to save, free choice of employment, freedom of collective bargaining, and freedom of enterprise.

Planning is defined as the conscious and deliberate collective choice of economic priorities of consumption and production by public authorities within a given state.

The book raises a number of basic issues and answers them forthrightly, though not dogmatically. For example: Can we have economic planning by the State, and yet not have socialistic ownership of the agencies of production? (The answer is a tentative "yes," but it is admitted that we may well be moving in the direction of socialism. Failure to plan will only hurry us along this road.) How is it possible to plan centrally for indeterminate ends to be decided by the wishes of individuals? Or, to put it another way, how can central economic planning dovetail with individual freedoms of consumption and job security? (Professor Hayek passed by this problem without exploration. Miss Wootton admits that some curtailment of these freedoms is necessary.)

How can the total amount of spending by public authorities and private persons be adjusted to the

total capacity and demands of the labor market? (One gathers that, in spite of the difficulties presented, Miss Wootton would vote for full employment legislation.) How can the unregulated flow of labor into various industries be controlled? (Here is a challenge to experts in vocational guidance and vocational education to base their programs upon a region's prospective needs in occupations and professions assuming optimum development of resources.) How can freedom of collective bargaining be reconciled with economic planning? (Her answer: Collective bargaining must give way to compulsory arbitration.)

How can the continuity necessary for economic planning be reconciled with the political insecurity of the executive and the legislature in a democracy? (The creation of permanent boards or commissions is suggested as one solution.) How is it possible to have central planning in a democracy when there is no common agreement upon ends? (This is a point dear to Professor Hayek's heart. Miss Wootton believes that we have common inter-party agreement upon such matters as food, work, and a home for every citizen. Areas of common freedom exist and can be discovered.) Can we depend upon the planners to plan for the benefit of all? (Miss Wootton apparently prefers to rely upon the vagaries of human nature rather than upon the *laissez-faire* workings of an economic system.)

One of the strongest features of the volume is its effective arguments against Hayek's all black or all white extreme conclusions. Classical economic theory is appropriately tempered with consideration of socio-psychological and institutional factors. The hypothesis is set forth that the freedoms of individuals must be evaluated on a constantly changing scale of values of a given society and not in a static social vacuum, as it were.

As contrasted with Hayek, the author holds that the socialist-capitalist controversy is barren, first because it is framed in terms of absolute systems rather than quantitative differences, and second, because it confuses ends and means, failing to realize that an economic system is only a means. Miss Wootton avoids *a priori* theories of inherent superiority or inferiority of one system over another, preferring to take as a measure of evaluation the measured extent to which the needs of individuals are met.

Pointing out that propaganda methods are inconsistent with rational political democracy, the

author indicates the extreme importance of the role of education in preparing citizens for a "continuously planning society," as John Dewey put it.

A limiting characteristic of *Freedom Under Planning* is that it gets but little below the top level of national planning. One answer to Hayek may be that even with central economic planning it is possible to give to individuals frequent opportunities to participate in making decisions—one kind of concrete use of freedom—at the regional, community, and neighborhood levels of association. Citizens in a free society should have many more opportunities for decision making than merely through the ballot. Local planning groups provide a mechanism for this broadening of participation. Such an approach to extending the freedom of the individual would seem to be in line with Miss Wootton's philosophy as revealed in her concluding sentence: "...it is the responsible, the alert, the active, the informed, and the confident men and women in the street who hold the key positions." It is to be hoped that a companion volume may be done which would carry the analysis this further step.

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

University of North Carolina

THE SOCIAL THEORY OF JAMES MARK BALDWIN. By Vahan D. Sewny. New York: King's Crown Press, 1945. 93 pp. \$1.50.

In the history of social theory James Mark Baldwin is often associated with the ideas found in the writings of Hegel, Haeckel, Bagehot, Darwin, Tarde, Wundt, James, Cooley, Mead, and Faris. To some of these men he owes the germ of his own thinking; to the others he furnished the kernel for their intellectual unfolding. It is not difficult to trace Baldwin's "dialectic of personal growth" to Hegel, his evolutionism and recapitulation theory to Darwin and Haeckel respectively, his ideas of the self to James, his imitationism to Tarde, his positivism to Wundt, and his genetic approach to Hall, Darwin, and Preyer.

Cooley, on the other hand, acknowledges his debt to Baldwin in his analysis of the self when he states that "I have received much instruction and even more helpful provocation from the latter's [Baldwin] brilliant and original work."

No one, therefore, can deny to Baldwin, a significant niche in the history of social theory, not, of course, to mention his important position in the history of psychology. His concept of the "socius" marks one of the earliest attempts to account for

personality in terms of the social environment. His opposition to Spencerian evolutionism, and his emphases on the psychological bases of social relationships identifies him with the fundamental viewpoint of contemporary social psychologists. Although his concept of the "self" falls short of the replete analysis of Cooley and particularly Mead, Baldwin anticipated much of the newer social psychology.

In addition, Baldwin's differentiation of the "agenetic" from the "genetic," somewhat similar to Cooley's spatial knowledge and personal knowledge respectively, would again give him status among those who hold rank in the unforgettable parade of contributors to methodological theory. The physical sciences are said to be "agenetic," the social sciences "genetic." The genetic branch of sociology Baldwin terms "socioeconomics," which is supposed to deal with the forces that condition the social and not with the social proper, this latter belonging to the field of social psychology (his personal bias, no doubt). Additional concepts such as his distinction between "solidarity" and "community"—the former consisting of the external manifestations of group relations, the latter comprising the sense of oneness existing in the minds of the members of a group—show cogent insights into the nature of social man.

In spite of these contributions, Baldwin's influence in the field of social theory remains strangely limited and inconspicuous. Sewny accounts for this restricted influence, in America at least, partially to his migration to the continent of Europe at the height of his career. A fuller explanation is, however, suggested by the author: "As sources of many germinal ideas Baldwin's theories should have proved of greater value to sociology, but those ideas appear to have lost some of their significance and validity in the rigid formulations in which their author presented them. Baldwin had many original and brilliant observations to offer, but he forced them into the framework of a system which in its final form became a body of unyielding and somewhat sterile principles. Cooley has said that 'if a man has a system . . . he himself may well beware of it lest he write merely to fill it out.'"

Sewny goes on to quote Cooley to account for the meagre recognition extended to Baldwin:

A great fault with strenuous writers like Baldwin is that in their eagerness to produce they do not allow time enough for their imaginations to grow naturally

and thoroughly into the mastery of a subject. They force it, and so impair its spontaneity, its sanity, and humanness. What they write may be stimulating, consecutive, attractive for a time, but it is not food to live on. . . . If you wish to produce anything of lasting value, you must see to it that the *subject matter, the truth*, is the first interest of your mind, *not your books, your essay, yourself as discoverer and communicator of truth*.

It is perhaps not the task of the reviewer to evaluate the evaluated. Sewny does a splendid job in presenting, analyzing, and appraising Baldwin's concepts and theories. Baldwin's social theory is presented in the framework of a socio-historical setting as well as in terms of his personal life and experiences. Each major idea is further evaluated in the light of contemporary theory.

Unquestionably *The Social Theory of James Mark Baldwin* constitutes a painstaking and successful analysis of an important personality in the history of social theory.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

Iowa State College

SOCIAL TRENDS IN SEATTLE. By Calvin F. Schmid. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1944. 336 pp. \$3.75 cloth bound; \$3.00 paper bound.

SOCIAL ECOLOGY. By Radhakamal Mukerjee. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1945. 364 pp.

Schmid's volume gives us the spatial pattern and distribution of a modern metropolis with very little interpretation of the wider principles of ecology. Mukerjee furnishes a theoretical synthesis of the field but with very little addition to the empirical data on which ecology is based. Together these volumes illustrate the strength and weaknesses of the field that is developing around ecology.

The study of Seattle makes use of all the materials and techniques furnished by ecology plus many more. Seattle's census tracts are mapped for every available index, and the charts and graphs number 120. In addition to expected treatment of city growth, the expansion of the metropolitan area, population, occupational and ethnic distribution, we are given trends and status in employment, education, mortality, suicide and housing. In his analysis of political trends and the voting pattern, Schmid breaks new ground, not often treated in urban ecology. In the appendix both the values and the dangers inherent in this type of study are suggested in a methodological note on the homogeneity of census tracts. The

appendix on Seattle's Hooverville is the most interesting single section of the book while Appendix C is a most valuable addition to the few good war impact studies of states and cities.

As this reviewer reads his book, Schmid does not see his task as one of testing and developing ecological theory on the basis of one "intensive case study of a modern metropolis." With no more data than Schmid develops several of the Chicago urban studies of a few decades ago gave us the broad generalizations still accepted in urban sociology. In the main Schmid is inclined to accept those that fit his own case and to ignore others. The book obviously has the greatest value for city planning, but the author does not suggest any plans as logical conclusions from his study. The term "planning" is not included in the index. These comments, however, cannot detract from the skill and industry with which the author has planned and executed his admirable survey. There are data here to test many of the hypotheses in urban ecology, and this reviewer hopes that Schmid will use them in later theoretical analysis.

Not all American sociologists realize the sheer volume of Mukerjee's contributions. *Social Ecology* is the twenty-first book from this Hindu pundit whose work has ranged from cultural studies of the East through comparative and institutional economics to population and social psychology. Always, however, he comes back to sociology considered from the point of view of ecology and the region.

Social Ecology will no doubt stand as the definitive statement of Mukerjee's position in the field that he has done so much to create. It diverges sharply at points from the American position, escapes some of the pitfalls of the school developed by Robert E. Park, and digs some of its own. Mukerjee certainly gives stronger emphasis to the cultural factor in ecological studies. He sees the major ecological processes as distribution, mobility, competitive-cooperation, stratification, succession and equilibrium. In Mukerjee's analysis *Social Ecology* considers society as symbiosis, the limits of competition and specialization, the functions of dominance and distance and the dynamics of human aggregation and circulation. Ecological and social pyramids lead to a consideration of the author's well-known doctrine of the regional balance of population. Since sociology studies the community rather than man and social relationships rather than the individual, status is seen as a primary datum and society is studied as a con-

figuration of interrelated statuses. Man lives in circumscribed space so that his ecological, social and moral boundaries can be described, and his mobility can be measured.

The volume ends with a consideration of the ecological and cultural patterns of social organization. In his analysis of the ecology behind economics and politics Mukerjee is eclectic instead of ecological, using data that we would regard as historical rather than ecological in character. The final chapter is an analysis of social equilibrium seen as the striving toward a "greater wholeness" of personality and life (social experience) continually upset by the disequilibrium of economics, technics, and social change.

The volume is not as closely reasoned as it ought to be, and its parts do not always fit so well as to make it an integrated theory. The difficulty of synthesis, however, should not blind the reader to the fact that this is a brilliant and suggestive book, bound to affect the thinking of any student who will give it more than a casual reading.

From different angles these two volumes show the progress that is being made in human ecology.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina

EXPERIMENTAL SOCIOLOGY. A Study in Method by Ernest Greenwood. New York: King's Crown Press, 1945. 163 pp. \$2.25.

Deep and swirling water holds no terror for the investigator who, after proper meditation, would dive headlong into relatively uncharted depths and cross-currents of experimental sociology. The reader wishing to benefit from Ernest Greenwood's plunge into and swim out of depths and currents of *Experimental Sociology* will find a volume which should serve as a valuable facility for assisting future attempts to more precisely identify and apply experimental methods to social situations.

The book, according to Dr. Greenwood, "is both a generalized treatment of the field of experimental sociology and a specific evaluation of the *ex post facto* technique in terms of this generalized treatment." From an examination of periodical literature of the past twenty years, the author encountered over one hundred statements of what a sociological experiment is. Grouping these statements he finds five core definitions which, presumably, delimit the general field of experimental sociology: (1) the pure experiment; (2) the uncontrolled experiment; (3) the *ex post facto* experiment;

(4) the trial-and-error experiment; and (5) the controlled observational study.

At this point in the study, the author pauses to set up and sharpen his tools for judging the five general types of experimental sociology. To forge his tools, he arms himself with the premise that "science is an attempt to discover an order underlying the chaos of the sense world." Agreeing that *causality* is just one kind of order sought by science, Dr. Greenwood states, "... in this work on the experimental method we shall concern ourselves with *causal* order, for the unique virtue of that method is its efficiency in demonstrating causality." In this volume, causality refers to regularity of connection among units, rather than chronological relationships, and thus, so it is assumed, avoids the argument concerning causal relationships between coexistences.

After paying careful attention to John Stuart Mill's experimental methods, the Method of Difference and the Method of Agreement, Dr. Greenwood emerges with his methodological tools ready for work. He defines the experimental method as a procedure which attempts to prove a "*hypothesis which seeks to hook up two factors into a causal relationship through the study of contrasting situations which have been controlled on all factors except the one of interest, the latter being either the hypothetical cause or the hypothetical effect.*"

To pinpoint his evaluations, the author underscores three elements of his defined experimental method: (1) a causal hypothesis; (2) which is tested by a set of contrasting situations; and (3) the contrasting situations being controlled. With qualifications the author concludes that, measured against his criteria, the *ex post facto* method is experimental. The *pure experiment*, almost a counterpart of natural science methodology, is consistent with the author's criteria; the *controlled observational* method fails to attain classification as experimental; the *uncontrolled experiment* is given a doubtful and cautious label as an experiment; and, finally, the *trial-and-error method* is flatly rejected from classification as experimental.

Having thus considerably narrowed the range of experimental sociology, Dr. Greenwood turns his attention to a description of what he considers to be genuine examples of sociological experimentation. To aid in the descriptive statement, the author develops a fourfold typology: (1) the projected successional experiment; (2) the projected simultaneous experiment; (3) the *ex post facto* cause-to-effect experiment; (4) the *ex post facto* effect-to-cause

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experiment. Within these classifications a wealth of material from research in sociology and psychology is described and documented.

In the process of using the fourfold typology, the author develops two chapters on techniques and problems of experimental control. There is discussion devoted to (1) selection of control factors; (2) control through factor equation; (3) control through randomization; (4) significance vs. validity of result; (5) social attitudes as obstacles to experimentation; (6) artificiality in social experiments; and (7) human mobility and social dynamics as disturbing elements in experimental control.

Experimental Sociology is not a volume which can be summarily evaluated. The questions it raises and the problems it discusses have their roots running wide and deep through the entire field of social research. It offers tantalizing avenues of thought for the student of statistics and statistical theory. In spite of the volume's difficult subject, the author has used language which assists the reader to avoid becoming lost in a maze of jargonistic expressions.

The book should be extremely helpful to students of social research methodology. It clears a path for future contributions toward developing a recognized and useful field of experimental sociology.

JOHN E. IVEY, JR.

Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education

THE SOCIAL THOUGHT OF AMERICAN CATHOLICS, 1634-1829. By Celestine J. Nuesse. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1945. 315 pp. \$3.00.

There were relatively few Catholics in the population of the colonial period and of the early decades of the United States, and for this reason one cannot expect to find any well-developed social theories of a distinctly Catholic nature during the period under consideration. The author acknowledges this primary difficulty in his field of research and says that he merely wishes to explore what Catholics had to say about social affairs in early America. His emphasis is on Catholic social thought in so far as it was a function of social processes, and this could be studied only through the writings and activities of a few prominent early American Catholics.

The religion which a man sincerely professes must necessarily be reflected in his thoughts concerning his fellowmen and in his social relations with them. There were and still are essential

differences in the dogmatic and theological beliefs of Catholics and Protestants. But fundamental social morality was pretty much the same for both Catholics and Protestants in the early colonial period. Since that time there has been an ever-widening ethical divergence between Catholicism and Protestantism, and for that reason it is now much easier to draw a clear distinction between Catholic and Protestant social thought.

From this point of view Mr. Nuesse's research was not very rewarding. There does not seem to have existed a sufficient difference along sociological lines to permit him to say of the writings of early Americans: "This is distinctly Catholic social thought; that is distinctly non-Catholic." The general political, economic and social practices of the times were then guided by commonly accepted value judgments. The author has not been able to show that the Catholic attitude toward familism, business relations, liberty, democracy, and so forth, was greatly different from the Protestant attitude. The value of his research lies in quite another direction: he has established a point of reference from which it can be demonstrated that the basic principles of Catholic social thought are the same now as they were then. This is extremely important for those social theorists who accept the assumption that human nature is essentially the same at all times and that therefore the principles of human conduct should also remain essentially the same.

This study begins with the date 1634, when Lord Calvert and his fellow Catholics from England laid the foundations of Maryland, and ends in 1829, when Andrew Jackson went into office and the American Catholic hierarchy held its First Provincial Council. The first five chapters describe the social thought and activities of those Catholics who were in the English tradition. The Calverts were the first Americans to establish religious liberty, although the Puritan influence later changed it even in Maryland. The patriotism of the great Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a feature of the American Revolution. Other well-known Catholic names are those of Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimons, Aedanus Burke, and John Carroll, all of them prominent in the economic and political life of the times.

The social thought of Catholics in Boston, New York, St. Louis, and New Orleans, is hardly mentioned in this work. Although the Catholic Church was well established in New Orleans long before it was in other parts of early America the social concepts of Louisiana Catholics are totally

ignored in this study. St. Louis also had a flourishing Catholic community well before the end of the period under consideration, but the author hardly mentions such activities. These omissions are in contrast to the space of a whole chapter devoted to Mathew Carey.

There are good brief sketches of Prince Gallitzin's apostolate in Pennsylvania, Father Gabriel Richard's in Detroit, of the holy Charles Nerinckx, and Bishop John England in South Carolina. The number of Catholic immigrants who arrived during the forty years of the period under consideration had been persecuted for their religious and political views in France, Germany, and Ireland. Their influx helped greatly to change the dominant aristocratic tone of American politics to a clearly democratic one. In spite of this there were still prominent men, like Roger Taney, William Gaston, and Robert Walsh, who adhered to conservative political parties.

The author's words may be used to sum up the expectations of the social researcher: "On the whole, there was no comprehensive presentation of social principles drawn from the Scriptures, dogma, scholastic philosophy, and tradition. Early cosmopolitan Catholics indulged in unsystematic social and political theorizing without reference to the implications of their religious beliefs, except in condemning the obvious heresy of deism which they feared for its influence in France and among Republicans at home" (p. 286).

JOSEPH H. FICHTER, S. J.

Loyola University

SURVEY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. rev. ed. By Marion B. Smith. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1945. 728 pp. \$4.00.

L. C. De Vinney and E. S. Johnson identify four "ideal types" of general survey social science courses. (See *American Sociological Review*, October 1942.) The fourth type is one "which undertakes a more or less systematic description of contemporary society, drawing freely on the methods and materials of the various special disciplines but keeping its focus on a reasonably coherent picture of the basic features of present-day social processes and institutions" (p. 679). Smith's textbook can be highly recommended for this kind of course. Although technical terminology is kept at a minimum, its orientation is sociological. Indeed, in reading certain parts one is strongly reminded of the Ogburn and Nimkoff *Sociology*, published by the same company.

Part I, entitled *Human Development*, opens with the evolutionary approach and proceeds to discuss the biological, psychological, geographic, and cultural factors in human life. Part II deals with population composition, growth, and distribution. Part III, which comprises about three quarters of the volume, is devoted to a comprehensive survey of social institutions. Four chapters are given to domestic institutions, two to educational, two to recreational, two to religious, one to health, one to aesthetic, six to economic, and seven to political. The pattern of treatment of the institutions consists of a statement of "principles," a characterization of their primitive forms and historical development, and a discussion of present problems and trends. Part IV contains a closing chapter on culture change developed around the culture lag concept.

In practically every respect, *Survey of Social Science* is an excellent textbook. It has a substantial factual basis; numerous tables include 1940 census data. The author seems to be very well grounded in all the social sciences and avoids the pitfalls that might trap the specialist who travels into related fields. Above all it is a well organized and well written book. The photographs are technically good and socially significant. The graphic devices are simple, clear and interesting. The chapter summaries are really recapitulations of the salient points of the discussion and not just final reflective comments. Altogether it is a very attractive book and one which students should enjoy reading. A chapter on the inter-relationships of the social institutions might have been helpful in emphasizing the integrated view of social life.

FREDERICK B. PARKER

Pennsylvania State College

THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF AMERICAN ETHNIC GROUPS.

By W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. 318 pp. \$4.00.

FALMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS. By Millard C. Faught. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 190 pp. \$2.75.

The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups.—This third volume on Newburyport in the "Yankee City Series"—following *The Social Life of a Modern Community* and *The Status System of a Modern Community*—starts with a bang seemingly loud enough to scare Boston's censors.

Because the Irish, arriving in the mid-nineteenth century, are the oldest of the ethnic groups por-

trayed and because of their greater social mobility, they were chosen as a high-light opener to represent the status and interactional problems of the other groups: French Canadians, Jews, Italians, Armenians, Greeks, Poles, and Russians. The first thirty pages—a personal history composite of Irish frustration and striving, bickering and humor—are as readable and pregnant with sociological meaning as *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*. (Was it Bernard de Voto who said the social scientist writes as though with a broom?)

With two short chapters on methodology and ecology the volume settles into statistical-tabular treatment of the ethnic groups in their social institutional aspects: economic, class, family, church, school, and associations. Here, for two or three chapters, is no easy reading; only the studious will be rewarded. For example, by decades from 1850 to 1933, status indices for residence and occupation are worked out to reveal shifts from period to period, notably as between Irish, French Canadians, and Jews. The remainder of the book more closely approaches the content, implications, and reader interest of *Middletown* and *We Americans*, with religious and associational elements dominant throughout.

A more authentic volume has not been written on the acculturation and assimilation of Caucasoid stocks in the urban Northeast of the United States. Serious students of the American community will own and use it.

Falmouth, Massachusetts.—Subtitled the "problems of a resort community," this doctoral volume studies the economic and social complexities of a 285-year-old town in the shrubby armpit area of Cape Cod on Vineyard Sound. Falmouth has about 7,000 permanent residents and a total summer population ranging between 20,000 and 35,000 with 75 percent of its normal annual income produced between mid-June and mid-September. It cannot be considered "typical" of the wide range of New England's recreational places, but it satisfied the author as to the problems characteristic of a resort community.

In gathering his data Dr. Faught had the cooperative interest of all but a suspicious few of the town and vacation people. His nine chapters are interesting reading; they trace historical development and analyze patterns of government and economic practices. The appendices (9 pp.) deal mainly with meteorological data and questionnaire forms.

Falmouth's resort problems are more sociologic than economic. It might be more accurate to say that basically the town's resort problems are economic; that is, that seasonality, costs, and taxation valuations are the fundamental problems. But, even so, these economic factors are so encrusted, obscured, and complicated by sociological prejudices, misunderstandings, and provincial folk lore, that in the human equations of Falmouth's social patterns the economic factors are overshadowed (p. 140).

The author spans the town for sitting on its procrastinative planlessness. At present the indications are that it cannot hope to specialize in anything else than being a resort. Several auxiliary resource possibilities are suggested with emphasis on the town's tomorrows in an airplane age.

People who know New England, especially if they are sociologically minded, will agree in general that Falmouth's problems, its *sit-izens*, are similar to those of many summer communities. In focusing on that neglected subject, the recreational town, Dr. Faught has done a good job, has contributed a valuable work in community sociology.

LEE M. BROOKS

University of North Carolina

STUDIES OF RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES, LATIN AMERICA AND GERMANY. By Charles P. Loomis. East Lansing, Michigan: State College Book Store, 1945. 392 pp.

This volume is a lithoprint of the more significant bulletins and articles of Loomis over the past several years about the central theme of rural social organization. These contributions number fifteen or more and represent materials "out of print or unavailable." The avowed purpose for which they have been thus assembled is that of classroom use. Quoting from the author's preface: "That the book has little integration may have one merit, namely, that of giving the student a demonstration of the range of fields in which an investigator may be required to work over a period of ten years in a government department. It is hoped that readers will appreciate the difficulties which confront the government employee who attempts to turn out fundamental research which may be integrated into a system."

That the author has been a productive worker is attested not only by the scope and quality of the work reproduced in the volume but also in the extensive "list of related writings" given in the closing pages of the book. Also, the studies reprinted find their materials at one time from

Germany, at another from Latin America, and widely so from the United States. Fortunately for one who would seek an authoritative appraisal of so great a variety of titles, such an over-all estimate is given in three forewords, written by government officials more or less intimately in touch with the work represented in the separate parts of the volume to which they specifically address themselves. Parts I, II, and III concern "Colonization and Resettlement," both in Germany and the United States, "Studies in Social Organization, Administration, Attitudes, and Opinions," and "Family Life Cycle Analysis and Level of Living Studies," and Carl C. Taylor says in the foreword to these sections that "the studies of resettlement and subsistence homesteads communities, levels and standards of living, and social organizations will be useful to students of research methods. The methods used in these studies run the entire range from the application of simple statistical techniques to the utilization of such devices as the *ideal type*." Part IV is designated as "Latin American Studies," and Ralph Allee, Assistant Chief in the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the United States Department of Agriculture, states that in his opinion, these Latin American studies of Loomis "demonstrate the value of private research contributions to qualified government research workers," and cites particularly the influence of the report, "Extension Work at Tingo Maria, Peru," which "played a major rôle in the development of the Division of Extension and Training in the new Technical Collaboration Branch of the office" of Foreign Agricultural Relations, "which has set for itself the task of supplying the demand for rural sociological research which will help answer the experiment stations directors' problems." Part V, "Agricultural Extension and Rehabilitation Among Spanish Americans: The Case Method of Analysis," is prefaced with a foreword by M. L. Wilson in which he exalts both the case method, *per se*, as "a refreshing and convincing one," and Loomis' use of it as providing a "freshness and reality that are lacking in the traditional textbook generalizations."

As has been indicated, this volume is simply a lithoprint of a considerable number of bulletins and articles by Loomis which have appeared over the past ten years. To one who has followed the literature closely during that time there will be nothing new in the book; to one who wishes to survey the scope of the writing of a federal government employee, whose contributions have been

noteworthy, the materials will afford an excellent case example. At any rate, the author has done what many of his colleagues have often wished they could afford to do—bring together for convenient accessibility and permanent preservation within one cover his more significant bulletins and articles which so quickly become "out of print or unavailable."

WILSON GEE

University of Virginia

SEAMAN A. KNAPP, SCHOOLMASTER OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE. By Joseph C. Bailey, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 307 pp. \$3.25.

This volume tells the reader about Seaman A. Knapp, the man who devised the demonstration method in adult education and showed its practicability. But it does much more because in describing his career it is necessary to consider the main currents of educational development in the United States from 1850 to about 1920. In the biography the author shows the devious ways in which these developments occurred until a great program, Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, became a reality.

Seaman A. Knapp was born December 16, 1833, at Schroon Lake, New York, a tiny hamlet in the heavy forests of the Adirondacks. His childhood was typical of the pioneer life of the times—a homespun childhood, so the author states. What seems to be important about it was the fact that young Knapp wanted to go to school and succeeded in doing so. Encouraged by his mother and assisted financially by a sister, he graduated from an academy at West Poughkeepsie, Vermont. The next destination in his educational career was Union College where he enrolled in 1854. Two years later he graduated, married, and joined the faculty of Washington County Seminary and Collegiate Institute. Ten years later he returned to the Academy at West Poughkeepsie, Vermont, as co-proprietor of the institution. In about a year, however, an injury to a leg and subsequent complications brought to an end his endeavors at the school and migration to Iowa in search of health, in which, fortunately, he was successful.

His career in Iowa was filled with activity. He served for some time as superintendent of a newly established school for the blind, became a farmer and breeder of purebred livestock, a contributor to farm papers, an organizer of breeders' associations, a professor of agriculture at the newly established Iowa Agricultural College, and eventu-

ally president of the institution. In 1887, however, he submitted his resignation as president to engage in commercial work which involved a gigantic land settlement project in the South.

In connection with the land settlement program it was necessary for Knapp to encourage farmers to use scientific methods. This situation led him to make a major contribution to his age, namely, the demonstration method of teaching farmers the value of scientific facts in farming. He found the psychological key, so to speak, to elicit the cooperation of farmers because he maintained that "what a man hears he may doubt, what he sees he may possibly doubt, but what he does himself he cannot doubt." All of his past experience in education, farming, teaching, and experimenting seemed to converge to produce this method of education. Suffice it to say that his demonstrations and his leadership were the outstanding factors in the series of events which led to the passage, by Congress in 1914, of the Smith-Lever bill, providing financial support for Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics throughout the land.

In describing the life of Seaman A. Knapp the book accomplishes a two-fold purpose. It makes available to readers the biography of a great American who had a part in shaping great events that were taking place in agricultural education. Therefore, it provides a description of the events themselves. Throughout the volume references to primary sources of information appear. The presentation is clear and unbiased. Also a complete bibliography and index add value to the publication. Thus the work is a welcome contribution to the scientific literature of rural life.

CHARLES R. HOFFER

Michigan State College

USDA MANAGER OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE. By Ferdie Deering. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945. 213 pp. \$2.50.

This book is dedicated to the dirt farmers of America and begins by defining the dirt farmer as a farmer who makes a living but who does not know how he does it. In the preface to this book a weed is defined as any plant growing out of place. The main thesis of this book is that the USDA has grown and grown and grown and for the most part it has grown out of place. It has grown in every direction. It has grown like Topsy. It has just grown. Mr. Deering has tried to find out the structure of the USDA and concludes that no living

man understands the complex set-up. The organization of the USDA is confusion worse confounded which, as Dr. E. C. Branson used to say, means confounded confusion. This book is an appeal for revaluation of our approach to farm problems. It is written with the hope that it will be helpful in stimulating thought and action that will lead to remedying the deficiencies of the USDA—thus making a more prosperous nation with security for the dirt farmer.

There are twelve chapters, and an appendix which presents the structure of the USDA at the time the proof was read, also compilation of appropriations for different purposes from 1932 to 1946 inclusive. Every chapter of this book is interesting. The titles, as a rule, indicate the contents of the chapter. Chapter 1, for instance, When to Sow and When to Reap, outlines the growth of the USDA from a one-man outfit to a department with some fifty agencies and divisions, with a total budget of one billion dollars or more per year, with operations carried on in nearly every county in the United States and with several agencies in most of these counties. Some of the large bureaus employ more than 10,000 persons, while others are relatively small, with only two or three hundred employees. Altogether the USDA has approximately 80,000 employees, not including thousands of farmer committeemen and others on a per diem pay. This chapter shows how the USDA controls or regulates or advises or provides services in a large number of ways for almost every farmer in the United States.

The second chapter, Streamlined Duplication, is a severe indictment of the organization of the USDA.

The Needle and the Haystack has to do with research carried on by the USDA. This chapter is highly complimentary. Mr. Deering believes in research and thinks the USDA is doing a good job. This valuable work does not reach the dirt farmer as it might with better organization for the dissemination of information.

The No. 1 Problem deals with erosion. This chapter is a severe indictment of the many and confusing efforts of the USDA to deal with erosion and soil conservation. Mr. Deering states that the USDA due to its awkward congestion of bureaus and agencies is now the greatest stumbling block remaining in the way of soil conservation.

The remaining chapters deal with the various services of the USDA to the farmer, such as banking services, regulatory work, education, etc. The

concluding chapters deal with the New USDA which suggests the type of work that the USDA should be engaged in and how it may best be organized to do its job. The concluding chapter, *Tomorrow's Agriculture*, deals mainly with the author's views on policy. He argues for abundant production, and against ever returning to a policy of scarcity. He is a strong advocate of free trade as a main aid to the American farmer.

This book may be too critical of the USDA. It says rather hard things. Nobody realizes the truth of the general thesis of this book better than those connected with the USDA. If it aids in bringing about a better program and a better plan of organization it will have served a splendid purpose.

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

University of North Carolina

NORTH DAKOTA WEATHER AND THE RURAL ECONOMY.

By J. M. Gillette. Bismarck, North Dakota: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1945. 98 pp. Single copies 75¢. Free to members.

Professor Gillette pays scant respect to that view of sociology which makes it concerned exclusively with inter-personal relations. For he sets out to construct a sociology of the Great Plains based upon weather conditions, trends, and comparisons, as a scientific foundation for such a regional sociology. However, he is not deluded as to the limitation of regional sociology; for he says conclusively that regional sociology cannot be a pure science, but only an application of general scientific principles to the understanding of the social peculiarities of a given region. It is in other words an applied sociology, which considers well-known scientific facts with reference to the welfare of a region.

There is, therefore, no predestination between social conditions and such facts as weather conditions and climatic trends, as we might expect in the physical sciences. It seems to the reviewer that Professor Gillette would have made all this plainer if he had put in as an illustration the effects of these conditions in the Great Plains, say, upon the American Indians, or (an even more imaginative illustration) the effect of Great Plains conditions upon Argentine whites, who also have a material culture based upon wheat, but with a very different general cultural background.

Professor Gillette not only uses the wheat yield as a key to his discussion, but of course brings in precipitation and temperature and especially the

trend in these respects since the first records were kept. He points out that while there is no way of developing controls over these "fiats of nature," yet, man can understand them, and to a certain extent foresee them, and so can do much to mitigate their effect.

Professor Gillette's general sociological point of view is sound. He does not hesitate to express human values in his discussion. For illustration, he says: "It is good solid doctrine to say that farming exists for the sake of farm families, rather than farm families exist for the sake of farming The kind of farming needs to be developed which will be best for the nation and the individuals doing the farming. It does not seem as though the factory type is the most profitable for the nation and the farmers."

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

Duke University

A CHINESE VILLAGE. By Martin C. Yang. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 275 pp. \$3.00.

In the foreword of *A Chinese Village*, Professor Ralph Linton is correct when he says "that the best way to acquire an intimate knowledge of any culture is and always will be to be reared in it." Dr. Martin C. Yang is a native of the village of Taitou in the Chinese Province of Shantung. He was born and brought up there. He is well-acquainted with all phases of its organized existence. He knows its people and shares their feelings, attitudes, and sentiments. In addition, he has the advantage of being trained in outstanding institutions of higher learning in China and the United States. Unquestionably, he is well qualified to undertake the writing of such a book.

One of the most important objectives of research in social science is improvement of understanding in human relationships. Scientific methods and techniques may vary from school to school. But, in order to be effective, they must be adjusted to individual projects to the end that the greatest possible understanding can be established. From this standpoint, the interactional approach adopted by Dr. Yang in his descriptive study of Taitou is well justified. After a brief account of its geography, history, people, economy, and standard of living, he proceeds to portray and explain the parts different individuals play in the complexities of family life. Such portrayal and explanation give the reader an insight into folkways, mores, and laws through which the family institution is regulated,

controlled, and perpetuated. They also give him a good knowledge of its economic, ritualistic, and social activities and functions and the causes which are responsible for its rise and fall.

From interaction between individuals in the family, Dr. Yang goes on to analyze interaction between different families in the village. In this analysis, he points out the functional bases on which Taitou is organized. These bases include village leadership, defense, education, protection of crops, social control, and other phases of community life in which cooperation, competition, conflict, and accommodation between and among families are general phenomena. Their elucidation gives the reader considerable information about some of the more important organized activities of the village. In social control, forces like public opinion play a dominant rôle in regulation and regimentation of the thought and action of the villagers. Wherever such forces fail to take effect, gossip, scandalous attack, and even witchcraft and magic are introduced to enforce conformance to accepted standards.

The village of Taitou is not an isolated community. It is closely related to Hsinanchen which serves as a market town for more than twenty villages. In his analysis of the intervillage relations, Dr. Yang gives an illuminating description of the political, economic, and social ties existing between Taitou and Hsinanchen and of the many ways in which Hsinanchen forms the link for all the villages in the area. Hsinanchen is the center of trade where farmers from different villages meet to sell their surplus produce and to buy what they need. It is the main source of financial power which extends loans to farmers in the surrounding country for agricultural purposes. It is a place where elders from the villages meet to discuss ways and means of coordination of local defense, implementation of new laws and regulations promulgated by the government and conciliation, mediation, and arbitration of intervillage conflicts.

The book is written in clear and easily readable style. It deals with practically all the important phases of social life in the village. There is no indication that the author has tried to whitewash the situation. As a matter of fact, superstitious practices and outmoded customs are described with candor and straightforwardness. On the whole, the study is of unquestionable value because, essentially, Taitou is a typical Chinese village. This being the case, its analysis provides the reader with a basic knowledge of the social organization of

China and gives him an insight into her problems of rural rehabilitation. *A Chinese Village* is one of the best books about China published in the English language. Professor Ralph Linton should be congratulated for his foresight in sponsoring the study and its publication.

CHENG CH'ENG-K'UN

University of Washington

BRAZIL: AN INTERPRETATION. By Gilberto Freyre. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. 179 pp. \$2.00.

Perhaps more so than any other book yet written, this book is of importance to those interested in racial reconciliation. Certainly because of it a great deal of antagonism will be directed toward its writer, an outstanding Brazilian sociologist who was visiting professor at Indiana University in 1944, by those who consider white men "supermen" and Anglo-Saxons superior to Latins.

The author's life work seems to be preaching the excellent results obtained from the Brazilian mixture of Europeans (Iberians), Asiatics (Arabs), and Africans (Negroes), of Christians and Mohammedans, Catholics and Jews. He proudly announces that Brazil's colonizing successes and her present important rôle in world affairs is due not so much to Europeans, but to semi-Europeans, including Negroes in tropical America.

The Negro influence has permeated Brazilian culture permanently; even "the very typical Anglo-Saxon game of association football, or soccer" is much influenced by African-blooded Brazilians or those who are "predominantly African in their culture," because of their inclination to reduce work, and thus the game is played as though it were a dance. I assume that few readers have heard of the "cultural superiority" of some of the millions of Negroes imported from "the most advanced Negro culture." Among them were "aesthetically attractive Negroes," "... and beautiful Negresses (who) became the famous mistresses of wealthy and prominent Portuguese merchants." Many colored women were the wives of European Brazilians, and no doubt "many a Brazilian now prominent in political or professional life has her blood in his veins."

Thus after all it is true, in Brazil at least, that "anyone who escapes being an evident Negro is white." Perhaps no one knows better than Freyre that the supposed "inferiority of mestizo Brazil to its more 'Aryan' neighbors" is unfounded. His examples and proofs of this remarkable fact make worthwhile reading.

In comparison to these racial explanations the many other topics to be found in the book are relatively less informative, at least to the readers of *Social Forces*. They have to do with frontiers and plantations in Brazil, her foreign policy, modern literature on social problems, etc.

ALFRED MANES

Indiana University

MEXICAN VILLAGE. By Josephina Niggli. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. 491 pp. \$3.00.

I do not see how anyone can fail to enjoy this book, whether or not he is interested in community studies or in Latin American life. Although the book is a valuable document, it is not a scientific report, but rather a work of art of high merit. It consists of ten long short stories, most of which involve the same cast of characters, who are the inhabitants of a small Mexican town named Hidalgo in the State of Nuevo León. The fact that this is a real town and that most of the characters are real people whom the author knew in her childhood there may render the book more "authentic" for social scientists, but I think that is beside the point. I have never been in Hidalgo, but I have been in and lived in a number of small Latin American communities from Mexico to southern Peru. I cannot, therefore, say from personal observation whether Miss Niggli gives a factually accurate report of the setting, social organization, personality type, and culture of Hidalgo, but it does seem to me that she has captured with remarkable skill many of the main facets of Ibero-American rural community life—and produced a work of fascinating literature as well. So, if *Mexican Village* were really an artistic synthesis of a whole series of communities, it would still satisfy me. For the author's lively style, skilled narrative technique, and sound knowledge of values have brought to life the people of a small Mexican town and their design for living more vividly than any sociological or ethnological report of the conventional type. Most social scientists—and their readers as well—might wish they had Miss Niggli's gift of expression.

The structure of the book is not that of a mere collection of sketches. Rather, each story is plotted in itself and in turn fits into an over-all plot which, on the whole, sustains reader interest from beginning to end. For my taste, the larger plot seems to be unnecessarily melodramatic in its

denouement. But this is not a journal of literary criticism, and we shall not dwell further upon the technical features of the author's literary craftsmanship, which has already received high praise in the appropriate places.

One asks himself, however, after reading a book like this whether it would not be better if all community and cultural studies were presented in this form. Does not art, based on sound observation, far outstrip science in presenting the life of a people? What do the ponderous monographs, dull in their very form, which we social scientists persist in turning out, offer which a book such as this does not present much better?

This is not the place for an extended philosophical discussion of science and art, but I believe that it would be desirable if both media could be used for the exposition and elucidation of community life. If the artistic reconstruction of Hidalgo makes that community and its people "live" on the printed page, it also necessarily leaves much unsaid. There are many "facts" of cultural importance which are not clearly set forth in Miss Niggli's account of Hidalgo, and this is some measure of her ability as a creative artist. For the literary writer, in the interest of dramatic values and compositional symmetry, must select certain aspects of the scene upon which to throw his spotlight, leaving many corners of the stage in shadow or barely suggested by subdued lighting. One of the tasks of the scientific reporter, on the other hand, is to set forth in painstaking detail all aspects of the cultural configuration he is studying. Many of these details are undramatic and many a pattern of culture in real life is "lop-sided" rather than displaying that balance which is so essential to the artistic effect. In Hidalgo, for example, one would need to know some details about land tenure, about the relationship system and the scheme of godparenthood, about markets and exchange, about division of labor, and so on, which are not fully described in this book, if one were to have the requisite data for a competent scientific interpretation of the culture. What Miss Niggli gives us in the form of "data" is undoubtedly "true," but it is not the whole story.

Thus the artistic presentation of a culture has many advantages, especially if a writer has the narrative skill of Miss Niggli and her ability to create human character in a given cultural setting. Such a presentation is most valuable, either as an introduction to the culture for those who know

nothing about it otherwise, or as a synthesis and highlighting for those who are familiar with the detailed and sometimes dull "facts" of the scientific field worker. If all cultures could be presented by literary artists and scientific investigators, I feel that much of the indifference and muddled thinking regarding foreigners and strangers which often characterizes even our "educated" classes would tend to disappear.

JOHN GILLIN

Duke University

THE LATIN AMERICAN FRONT. By Joseph F. Privitera. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1945. 212 pp. \$2.25.

This book is really a pamphlet in favor of a sound inter-American policy based upon mutual understanding of a cultural nature between our own country and those of Latin America. It is also an argument generally in favor of Rockefeller's Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Unfortunately, the book should have been published, say, somewhere around 1942 or even earlier, rather than in December of 1945, and there is a certain amount of internal evidence that the book was written a good deal earlier than its appearance in published form. Many of the more superficial issues of technical management of Inter-American affairs have now passed from the scene and certain of the local conditions described have altered. Therefore, the book dates rather badly at present. Since it makes only a superficial attempt to analyze basically many of the fundamental cultural differences between North America and Latin America, the volume does not add greatly to our fundamental understanding of underlying problems. Although the author apparently made an extended trip through certain countries to the south, the books seem to contain very little documentation based upon personal observation or investigation. In fact, most of the cited material is taken from newspaper accounts or other ephemeral sources. To the reviewer the most satisfying portion was Part I, The Psychological Front. In this section the author shows considerable insight into certain characteristic orientations of Latin American culture, even though he does not offer what to my mind is an adequate explanation or analysis of them.

JOHN GILLIN

Duke University

PEGUCHE: A STUDY OF ANDEAN INDIANS. By Elsie Clews Parsons. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. 225 pp. \$3.00.

In the high Andes of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia there are today some five million Quechua speaking Indians. Most of them are rural laborers, working as peons on plantations, or maintaining independent subsistence farms. Their language, physical type, and cultural heritage reflect a tradition extending back to the days of Inca rule before the Spanish Conquest. Four hundred years of Western domination, with its organized social, religious, and economic pressures, have obviously affected the Indian cultural patterns, so much so, in fact, that the present cultures are neither pure Indian, pure Western, or pure Mixture, but rather a new creation.

In spite of the numbers and importance of these Andean Indians, field studies have been limited and good reports rare. In fact, the virtually extinct Ona and Yaghan of southernmost South America have been studied in far greater detail, due in part to the ethnologist's preference for more primitive groups, and in part to the difficulties involved in attacking the Andean problems. Consequently, Dr. Parsons' book is a valuable initial contribution since it presents for the first time a descriptive account of at least one small segment of contemporary Andean culture.

Peguche is a small *parcialidad* or rural Indian community near the town of Otavalo in the Province of Imbabura in the northern highlands of Ecuador. Dr. Parsons spent some six months in 1940 and 1941 studying the Peguche inhabitants in general, and the family of Rosita Lema in particular. Both are somewhat exceptional. The Peguche Indians, although surrounded by haciendas, are independent farmers (119 of the 122 householders have their own land). Furthermore, the Peguche Indians have been able to participate successfully in the Ecuadorian money economy because of their skill in weaving and marketing belts, blankets, and homespun. The men, with their distinctive costumes and hairdo, can be spotted in the distant markets of coastal Guayaquil, and southern Cuenca, selling their home manufactured goods. This distant travel may be recent, as Dr. Parsons suggests, but it is none the less highly significant of Peguche enterprise, and certainly not characteristic of other Ecuadorian Indians.

The family of Rosita Lema is exceptional even among the independent Peguche residents. It is wealthy, in the local sense, even to the point of maintaining two servants. Both Rosita and her husband speak Spanish, and have good connections with the whites of Otavalo. Neither the exceptional family nor the exceptional Indian group detracts from Dr. Parsons' study, but rather serves as a background setting.

Dr. Parsons' approach is essentially descriptive. The houses, equipment, food preparation, farming, costume, and technologies are described in detail. The life cycle is vividly portrayed through the crises from birth to death. Religion and ritual is presented largely through descriptions of certain church festivals which the author witnessed. Miscellaneous stories and myths are recorded. The analytical description is supplemented by a diary-like chapter on the author's visits to Peguche houses.

Historical depth is one of the difficulties which faces the student of Andean ethnology. Many customs of today seem meaningless unless one seeks out their past origin. Dr. Parsons devotes a final chapter to the task of sorting out Indian, Spanish, and modern components of Peguche culture. Throughout the descriptive sections also, footnote references, principally from Garcilasso de la Vega, attempt to identify similar features in Inca Peru. It is almost axiomatic that one must turn to the past to understand the present Andean Indians, but Dr. Parsons' book makes it clear to the reader that this in itself is not enough. After the items are sorted and footnoted we still do not understand why the Peguche Indians are different from their neighbors, be they Indian or White. In fact, one gathers the impression that the contemporary residents of Peguche are not interested in the origin of the elements of their composite culture, nor in the symbolic meaning of their ceremonies and rituals, although all these are still a source of considerable satisfaction to the participants. In brief, we need a functional study to complement the historical.

Another major problem in the study of Andean Indians is the relationship of Indian and White culture. References are made to this by Dr. Parsons, but the problem as a whole is largely ignored. Still it is obvious that the Indians today form part of Ecuadorian culture, whether they work on haciendas or on independent farms. Neither White nor Indian is independent today, but rather both are elements of a larger system.

The study of Andean Indians is a long term

proposition. Dr. Parsons has presented an excellent introduction. The book is well written, accurate, and excellently illustrated. It should pave the way for further study of this complex but fascinating and important problem.

WENDELL C. BENNETT

Yale University

LAY MY BURDEN DOWN. A Folk History of Slavery. Edited by B. A. Botkin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. 286 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.

Among the many tasks undertaken by the Federal Writers' Project was the collection of narratives from the lips of ex-slaves. This collection, which assumed rather large proportions, was deposited with the Library of Congress. In 1944 B. A. Botkin, who had served as chief editor of the Writers' Project from 1939 to 1941, was asked to prepare for publication a selection from the narratives "which would give at once the flavor of the entire collection and the social patterns revealed in the series, while keeping literary excellence to the forefront."

Botkin, one of America's ablest folklorists, has ably fulfilled his instructions in the preparation of this volume. *Lay My Burden Down* will stand as the definitive collection of American slave narratives. In a decade or so the last of the ex-slaves will have passed away, and we shall be increasingly grateful for this treasure-store of their recollections.

From more than two thousand narratives collected by interviewers for the Federal Writers' Project, Botkin has selected nearly three hundred for use in this book. Arranged with fitting titles and sub-titles, they give an absorbing picture of the slave's mother wit and folklore, his life with his white folks, his rôle in the Civil War, his transition to freedom, his experiences with the Ku Kluxers, and his ideas about the younger generation. Through it all runs the robust humor and eloquence of the Negro people.

This work is a welcome addition to folklore and literature, and it is a valuable supplement to the history of slavery. It is illustrated and it contains a list of informants and interviewers.

GUY B. JOHNSON

Southern Regional Council

CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY. By John Lewis Gillin. 3d. ed. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1945. 615 pp. \$4.50.

No fundamental change of content or emphasis appears in this Third Edition but the author has,

nevertheless, improved his earlier work in several respects.

The content is that of a well-rounded text. Book One: Criminology, defines the problem of crime and criminals and deals with the making of the criminal. Book Two: Penology, is a discussion of theories of crime and punishment, the machinery of justice, and penal and correctional institutions. About two-thirds of the volume is devoted to penology.

In his new discussion of the relation of war to crime Gillin emphasizes the view that the major consequences which flow from the economic and social disorganization that accompanies war are felt after the fighting is over and the peace is declared. A worthwhile addition is the development of an inclusive sociological theory of crime which is not limited to systematic criminal behavior but which is a thoughtful attempt "to formulate a theory of all delinquent behavior in a frame of reference of the whole sociological configuration, and with attention to the various social processes found among associating human beings."

In large part the work has been rewritten and reorganized with benefit to its clarity. The use of charts, maps, and pictographs adds to its effectiveness. Footnote references take the place of a special bibliography. Students will, no doubt, appreciate the reduced bulk of the Third Edition and the generally improved form. It is a good, sober, orthodox text.

ALBERT MORRIS

Boston University

YOUTH, MARRIAGE, AND PARENTHOOD. By Lemo D. Rockwood and Mary E. N. Ford. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1945. 298 pp. \$3.00.

College teachers and students in the field of family life and relations have been experimenting for some time in an attempt to determine student needs, problems, and attitudes concerning courtship, marriage, and parenthood. This volume shows the methods and results of such experimental work by two conscientious college professors. The major purpose of the study is "to find what attitudes university juniors and seniors hold toward courtship, marriage, and parenthood and to determine to what extent these attitudes are related to differences in sex, religion, college attended, year in college, fraternity membership, home community, father's occupation, ordinal position in the family, courtship status, and related happiness of parents' marriage."

The data for the study were collected from responses of 364 students (on the campus where the authors have been teaching for a number of years) to an extensive list of questions pertaining to practically every aspect of courtship and marriage with which students are familiar or about which they show some interest. The findings are presented in convenient tables and in short interpretative statements. The monograph has all the earmarks of an objective and scientific study, while, at the same time, it seeks to benefit both the teacher and student in their study of familial relationships.

It is difficult in a study of this sort for the authors to put the reader on guard regarding all of the possible subjective elements which might creep in to color their interpretations of data. Especially is this true when two separate questionnaires are used, when they are given to different groups (perhaps select students) under varying circumstances, and at various intervals during a two-year period. The serious reader will perhaps be confused as to how many students responded to particular questions, and he might even wonder, as does the reviewer, whether some of the data are representative of the 364 students studied. For example, as one reads the interpretations of the findings on sex education one might believe that the student attitudes on this subject represent the reactions of 364 students; but when one checks the responses by comparing the two questionnaires one sees that the findings here apply only to the 191 respondents to the original questionnaire. The reader may also raise some pertinent questions regarding the sampling of student attitudes, especially if the reader has had personal experience working with questionnaires on a college campus. One such question which may be raised at this point is whether or not a representative group of students was contacted and whether or not "free expression of their (own personal) opinions and attitudes" were given in response to the questionnaires. For example, of the total number of student responses, 232 students, more than 64 percent, were enrolled in the family course and only 132 students, less than 36 percent, had not taken this course. If the items included on the questionnaire were in any measure chosen by the students or discussed in class, then this classroom participation undoubtedly colored, in some measure, the responses of those participating in the discussions.

The fact that the questionnaires were distributed by students on the campus for a period of two years while the investigation was being made and while

students themselves were discussing and criticizing these problems from the standpoint of lectures, classroom discussions, and required or suggested readings—these factors definitely introduced numerous uncontrollable factors which might have influenced the responses. Had the experimental study on the campus of the New York State College been used to perfect the questionnaire and to familiarize the investigators with student terminology and general reactions and then had the study been made from returns from a more representative group of students at another college or university, collected over a period of not more than a few days, the study would have been a much more objective index of student attitudes.

On the whole, the authors have done an excellent job of formulating their questions in the light of student interest in and familiarity with pertinent questions on courtship and marriage. They have likewise succeeded in phrasing statements and questions in language with which the average student is familiar and at the same time they have adhered to the major scientific principles of mechanical accuracy and form. However, the conditions under which the study was made will make some feel that it was published in the experimental stage; that is, it was not carried beyond the stage of drawing generalizations from a small select sampling of student responses. The scientific method should include two additional steps before the data are published: (1) the verification process which necessarily means (a) the collection of more extensive data (under specially controlled conditions) than were collected in the original study, (b) a more critical evaluation of the methods and techniques of research employed in the study, (c) a more comprehensive, exclusive, and exhaustive or inclusive classification of data, and (d) more objective comparisons of the new data in terms of concrete statistical techniques (graphs, tables, etc.) and abstract comparative techniques (the descriptive method); (2) the revision and re-verification process, which entails (a) a thorough critical analysis of the entire study from the standpoint of common sources of error, such as biases, erroneous assumptions, errors in counts and mathematical processes, hasty or illogical conclusions, faulty generalizations, etc., and (b) a careful reorganization and review of the entire study.

The authors have attempted to overcome these methodological weaknesses by comparing their findings with those of related studies by Terman,

Bernard, Burgess and Cottrell, Popenoe, Bossard, Bell, and others; but the different purposes of these students and the different data presented by these studies render the comparative method inadequate as a verification technique. The present reviewer feels that it is better for such studies as the one under review to be published in professional social science journals or in small research monographs than to be issued in expensive volumes which only a few teachers will buy.

In the interest of scientific scholarship, students in the field of marriage and the family need to produce a quantity of research monographs, then all of such data need to be brought together in one synthetic volume for teaching and consultation purposes until further monographs render these findings obsolete. The process should be continued in the light of changing social trends. But until this stage in sociological research has been reached, the present volume will be very helpful as a reference for teachers and students who wish to profit by the teaching techniques, experimental findings, and comparative studies of two serious-minded teachers in the field of family relations.

MELVIN J. WILLIAMS

Wesleyan College

THE FAMILY: FROM INSTITUTION TO COMPANIONSHIP.
By Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke. New York: The American Book Company, 1945. 800 pp. \$4.25.

If we assume that a textbook should be a guide for the student who is seeking knowledge and insight in a special area of study, this volume on the family by Burgess and Locke is eminently qualified to fulfill its purpose. It is difficult to see how a student could come away from a serious study of its pages without a greatly increased knowledge of the nature, functions, and problems of the family, and an appreciation of its place in contemporary American life.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I, *The Family in Social Change*, reveals the variety and complexity of family structure and relationships through excellent descriptive statements of "the family in time and space" and of contemporary Chinese, American Negro, Russian, and American rural and urban families.

Part II, *The Family and Personality Development*, attempts to demonstrate the part played by the family in shaping characteristic behavior patterns of family members, especially young children. Four distinct bases of personality

development are presented: (1) culture, (2) psychogenic conditioning, (3) expectations and rôles, and (4) W. I. Thomas' fundamental wishes.

Part III, Family Organization, considers first "Family Unity." This chapter lists and describes the factors that contribute to family unity and gives descriptions and illustrations of families living in varying degrees of unity and disruption. The remainder of the section is concerned with love and courtship, mate selection, marital success, and the prediction of marital adjustment. It seems to me that for a study of family organization too great an emphasis and a disproportionate amount of space is devoted to the husband-wife relationship with too little consideration of associations between parents and children and with other family members living within the household.

Part IV, Family Disorganization and Reorganization, views the effects of social change with resulting conflicts, crises, and tensions. Consideration is given to changing social attitudes, mobility, economic depression, war, death, and divorce.

Unfortunately only one chapter is devoted to family reorganization. This allows a mere mentioning of the many constructive agencies that are evolving to strengthen the family.

A significant suggestion is made by the authors concerning what some have called "the future of the family." They point out that we should look upon the changing family as a result of a social process. "This analysis of the emergence of the companionship form of the family as a result of a social process gives perspective for differentiating familial disorganization that disrupts the family and that which mediates its reorganization. The concept of the family process suggests also that the family itself is a dynamic agent and not a passive inert object. The term *process* also implies that the family structure is being modified by forces within it reacting to those impinging upon it. These considerations should give pause to the 'well-intentioned friends' of the family who seek to intervene and reform it according to some preconceived program" (p. 719).

There are five features of this volume to which attention should be called.

1. It is organized around the idea that the family is moving from "institution" to "companionship." The authors explain this point of view in the preface: "The central thesis of this volume is that the family in historical times has been, and at present is, in transition from an institution to a companionship. In the past the important factors unifying

the family have been external, formal, and authoritarian, as the law, the mores, public opinion, tradition, the authority of the family head, rigid discipline, and elaborate ritual. At present, in the new emerging form of the companionship family, its unity inheres less and less in community pressures and more and more in such interpersonal relations as the mutual affection, the sympathetic understanding, and the comradeship of its members."

2. It makes wide use of the "ideal-type method" of analysis. Again we refer to their explanation: "The special form of the ideal-type analysis as a scientific method involves the identification, isolation, and accentuation of the logical extreme of the selected attribute. For example, selecting the *institutional* attribute as a significant characteristic of the family, it is then accentuated to provide the ideal type with the institutional factors at the maximum and the personal at the minimum. The ideal type of *companionship* family may be correspondingly defined with personal factors at the maximum and institutional ones at the minimum. Thus these two polar conceptions become an instrument of measurement by which all families existing in time and space may be classified, compared, and analyzed."

3. Very extensive use is made of personal documents. These enliven the text and illustrate graphically and make concrete concepts that might otherwise remain theoretical, abstract, and general.

4. There is an excellent array of figures and tables drawn from recently published sources.

5. At the end of each chapter projects for further needed research are suggested. These are not the usual topics for class reports, but are stimulating ideas that should reveal to the student the vitality of the subject and should prevent his accepting an attitude of finality about it.

DONALD S. KLAISS

University of North Carolina

COMMON HUMAN NEEDS. An Interpretation for Staff in Public Assistance Agencies. Prepared by Charlotte Towle. Public Assistance Report No. 8. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1945. 132 pp. \$0.25, paper.

This very interesting volume was prepared by Miss Towle for the use of public assistance workers to further their understanding of basic human needs and behavior. It has extensive content

regarding normal human behavior, a consideration of the import of some of our statutory provisions and agency policies in the light of this knowledge, and carries the reader along toward a responsibility for skill in relation to this understanding.

The first section of the book is devoted to the discussion of the significance of public assistance for the individual and society. The responsibility of society toward helping the individual in need and the effect of want and insecurity on the individual get considerable attention. The relation between want and irrational emotional striving, between physical and psychological welfare, are very well developed. Miss Towle stresses the significance of individual opportunity for emotional and intellectual growth in relation to capacity and gives special consideration to such concepts as ambivalence, projection, anxiety, and regression as they are related to the public assistance situation.

The second section of the book is devoted to a clear presentation of the ordinary needs of the individual in order to develop happily and purposefully. She takes up one by one the most significant stages of growth and the special needs of each stage. This material is very capably presented and indicates sound psychological insight. Also included in this section is a discussion of the needs of the handicapped and of some of the intricacies of family life.

The final section is devoted to principles of supervision as related to the public assistance situation and common human needs. The supervisor, as responsible for developing the abilities of her staff, needs not only to be well grounded regarding the nature of human needs and the public assistance situation, but also to know how learning takes place and to what extent she can further the will of the worker to become skillful on her job. Miss Towle is specific and helpful on many points in this process.

This is a clear and useful book for the purpose of furthering the public assistance worker's understanding of the emotional complications of his task and the manner in which ordinary human beings react to the unusual situation of public assistance. Its organization is very pleasing. It is logical, simple, yet faithful to the complexities of the material. The illustrative case material is well chosen and furthers the total plan of the book. If one were raising any question regarding the author's accomplishment in this volume, it would be to wonder whether the individual in need could

not be more accurately perceived with more awareness of his strengths and capacities and his will to maintain his purposes in his own way.

MURIEL McLAUCHLIN

University of North Carolina

WHERE DO PEOPLE TAKE THEIR TROUBLES? By Lee R. Steiner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. 265 pp. \$3.00.

No book ever needed to be written more than *Where Do People Take Their Troubles?* Unfortunately it is probable that those who personally ought most to read it never will. Even so the book will awaken many intelligent people who have had no realization of the exploitation of human confusion and misery that is practised in this country even in these modern days by the psychic vultures that prey upon the weakness and ignorance of a considerable portion of our population. The author points out that these people, desperate in their trouble, do not know where to get help and thereby fall into the clutches of persons who at least are clever in selling their non-existent insight. Even if legitimate services were known to some of these men and women, they would go as they do to their exploiters because what they seek is not fact or understanding but the confidence of magic that the ethical counselor cannot give.

The book is interesting and informing as well as disclosing. The reviewer would discriminate between various individuals who are put under the microscope by the author, believing there are great differences in their usefulness and sincerity and background. This is doubtless true in the judgment of the author, but all readers may not appreciate this. Ministers, teachers, social workers, sociologists and all who have contact with people who seek guidance should know this book and bring it to the attention of the men and women who by reading it may save themselves at least from disappointment and frequently from bitterness and suffering.

ERNEST R. GROVES

University of North Carolina

PHILOSOPHY OF BUSINESS. By Rupert C. Lodge. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. 432 pp. \$5.00.

The jacket of this book says "Philosophy for businessmen . . . practical business theories for philosophers . . . effectively treated together for the first time." That the book tries to explain

some philosophic "isms" to businessmen may be granted, but if the philosopher expects to get practical advice on how to run a business, he will be sadly mistaken. Professor Lodge presents what he considers the major types of philosophy: pragmatism, realism, and idealism; and then tries to fit the thinking of businessmen into these various frames. In addition to these more technical philosophies, Lodge attempts as a contrast to the interpretations made by philosophy proper, to understand business from the standpoint of sociology. Strangely enough the point of view of sociology is represented by Pareto!

Lodge thinks of his task as an attempt to classify the thinking of businessmen in terms of realism, pragmatism, and idealism. He goes about this classificatory enterprise by quoting from the biographies of McCormick, J. P. Morgan, and others. If he can find that one or the other of these men thought of themselves as benefactors of society, then he infers they are idealists. If on the other hand, they always demanded action, they were pragmatists, for pragmatism is, he claims, a philosophy of action. This is perhaps something of a caricature, but it fits the book well enough. It is no wonder that Lodge decides that no one of the isms is alone sufficient. It is, however, sometimes difficult to see more than a superficial resemblance. For example, Lodge discusses the notion of the transcendental character of ideals as meaning that ideals always point beyond the merely actual. For the idealist also, Lodge asserts, quoting J. E. Creighton, intelligence gives man a capacity of expressing "the nature of a larger whole of which he is a member." Then Lodge says, "As applied to business experience, this partly explains the tendency of all businesses, in so far as their guiding ideals are successful to expand and press forward beyond their starting points and beyond the limits of the plans originally conceived" (p. 97). The transcendental character of ideals means much more than Lodge says. It means the pre-existence of these ideals, their ideational character; and the totality of which Creighton speaks is the *Universal Absolute*. It is a little startling to find business expansion interpreted as business from the idealist point of view.

The net result is to give businessmen a misleading insight into philosophy, and philosophers a misleading approach to an understanding of business. The "philosophy of" some field or activity has and does mean the analysis of the basic concepts of that field or activity which are presupposed

by its practitioners. Much of theoretical economics is far closer to a philosophy of business than this book. And it is needless to remark that Pareto is hardly representative of sociology. As a matter of fact Lodge never quite bridges the gap between his brief accounts of philosophic "isms" and his discussion of businesses and the men who run them.

One thing is certain, the "robber barons" should be delighted to be transformed into "realists," "pragmatists," or "idealists." These latter terms do not have the moral connotations of the former. Lodge's attempt at typology with its attendant implications as to the type of business for a realist, pragmatist, or idealist verges on pseudo-science.

With all these objections, however, the book does strike a new note. Where Lodge does not attempt to force his interpretations of business into line with philosophic schools, there is much worthwhile analysis along new lines.

LOUIS O. KATSOFF

University of North Carolina

IN ABBREVIATED FORM

Pamphlet series are continually increasing in both number and popularity. Many of these are issued on a monthly or bimonthly basis and carry valuable and timely information on social, economic, governmental, and international affairs and problems. Since the pressure on space and time makes it impossible to review these adequately within the pages of a journal like *SOCIAL FORCES* we are listing here, more or less completely, some of the excellent material which has become available, in this abbreviated and more popular form, approximately during a twelve months' period. It is our intention to carry these listings more frequently in the future and also to include in them pamphlets and brochures which may appear independently and not in a particular series.

A pioneer in this field is *INFORMATION SERVICE*, now in its twenty-fourth volume. It is published weekly, except during July and August, by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and features current topics of major social and economic interest. For example, recent issues have discussed *The Transition to Peace*, *Universal Military Training for America*, *Congress and Full Employment*, *The Government and Scientific Research*, *An Inquiry into Religious Liberty*, *The Atom Bomb and the Future*, *Church*

Membership Trends, The Congress of American Industry, Negro Life. Of special value are the bibliographies and book reviews on race, labor, religion, government, etc., to which from time to time, whole issues are devoted. **INFORMATION SERVICE** can be had from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. Single issues sell usually for \$0.05 each; a subscription is \$2.00 a year.

The American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., publishes regularly the *Far Eastern Survey*, a bi-weekly, and *Pacific Affairs*, issued quarterly. In addition it publishes books on the Far East and a **POPULAR PAMPHLET** series, including bibliographies and maps. The pamphlets vary in price from five cents to forty cents and include such titles as: *Our Job in the Pacific* by Henry A. Wallace; *Filipinos and Their Country* by Catherine Porter; *What About Our Japanese Americans?* by Carey McWilliams; *Alaska Comes of Age* by Julius C. Edelstein; *Changing China* by George E. Taylor; *Modern Japan* by William H. Chamberlin; *Twentieth Century India* by Kate Mitchell and Kumar Goshal; *Behind the Open Door* by Foster Dulles. For information concerning membership, subscription rates, and complete list of publications write to the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York.

GEOGRAPHIC SCHOOL BULLETINS, published by the National Geographic Society, were resumed for the year 1945-46 on October 1, 1945. Each of the 30 weekly issues contain five articles and seven maps or illustrations, featuring up-to-date material on places, peoples, industries, commodities, scientific developments in the news, and national boundary and government changes. Within the past year the **BULLETINS** have touched upon such subjects as countries of every continent, with separate treatment of government changes; war-highlighted areas such as cities, rivers, mountains, and islands; aviation, railroads, and other newsworthy transportation subjects; industries and commodities affected by war and rationing. The publication is one of the National Geographic Society's leading educational features. It is, in fact, a gift to education by the Society's 1,250,000 members. The twenty-five cent subscription fee merely covers the mailing and handling charges. Other costs are borne by the Society's educational

fund. The National Geographic Society has its headquarters at Washington 6, D. C.

Other popular series include:

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NATIONAL POLICY REPORTS AND MEMORANDA. National Policy Committee, 1202 National Press Building, Washington 4, D. C. Annual subscription, \$1.00; single copies, \$0.25; quantity rates available.

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No. 28. *Upper Missouri River Development.* Report of a session in Billings, Montana (Billings, Montana: December 1 and 2, 1944).

No. 30. *The Citizen and City Hall; Strengthening the Congress.* Reports of Sessions in Philadelphia and Cleveland (Philadelphia, Pa.: March 13, 1945; Cleveland, Ohio: February 17, 1945).

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Re-employment and Re-education in Germany (Washington, D. C., 1945).

PLANNING PAMPHLETS. National Planning Association, 800 21st Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Issued at least 10 times a year at irregular intervals. Included in membership but single copies may be had for \$0.25; quantities at a discount.

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS. Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York. Single copy, \$0.10.

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SOCIAL ACTION. Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. Monthly except July and August. \$1.00 per year; single copies, \$.15; quantities at a discount.

Vol. X, No. 7. 1944 Campaign Issue (September 15, 1944).

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HAYNES FOUNDATION Pamphlet Series. Haynes Foundation, 2324 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles 7, California. \$.10 each.

No. 7. Demobilization and Jobs. By Charles W. Eliot (1944). Out of print.

No. 8. Jobs and Security After Victory. By Cecil L. Dunn and Charles W. Eliot (1944).

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SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS SERIES. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York. \$0.25 each.

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CHINA COUNCIL SERIES. China Institute of Pacific Relations, Chungking, China, 1945. Order pamphlets from International Secretariat Inquiry, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y. \$2.95 complete set.

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No. 8. Freedom from Fear. By Dison Hsueh-Feng Poe. \$0.15.

KATHARINE JOCHER

University of North Carolina

BRIEFER COMMENT

OUR AMERICAN NEIGHBORS. Prepared by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1945. 280 pp. \$3.00.

THE PAN AMERICAN YEARBOOK. An Economic Handbook and Ready-Reference Directory of the Western Hemisphere. New York: Pan American Associates, 1945. 829 pp. \$5.00.

The first of these volumes is a revised edition of the pamphlets issued by the Coordinator's Office on the various countries of Latin America, now bound together in one volume. This is a useful guide book for those who have little acquaintance with the countries involved. It is well illustrated with drawings and diagrams, and interesting and essential facts are summarized in an informal style. The reader desiring more information will, of course, go to standard reference books.

The *Pan-American Yearbook* is likewise a compilation of information arranged by countries primarily for the benefit of foreign traders, traveling salesmen, and others wishing to establish business contacts in Latin America. It will also be of use to many others as well. It is to be noted that the material on each country is currently kept up to date by a department of the Pan American Magazine published by the same company. Thus, for example, all current changes in Peru which have occurred since the last publication of the *Yearbook* are summarized in the magazine. Subscribers who take both publications are, therefore, kept up to date, at least in the major fields to which the publications are devoted.

JOHN GILLIN

Duke University

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES: 1942. By Miron Burgin. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943. 521 pp.

This eighth volume of the well known "selective guide" contains valuable material on 16 topics written by 42 scholars. We find i.e. anthropology, 33 pages, economics, 60 pages, government, 38 pages, international relations, 34 pages, labor and social welfare, 20 pages, law, 13 pages. Besides a list of important publications in each section descriptive and critical notes on all books and articles mentioned are added, sometimes also general statements.

The handbook is indispensable to all who intend to get reliable information on any Latin American matter. So it is to be hoped that volume nine or ten will endeavor to record on business, trade and commerce and insurance. Another suggestion: the index should include the topics of all previous volumes.

ALFRED MANES

ACTION FOR CITIES: A GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY PLANNING. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1943. 77 pp.

A chief merit of this simple, practical manual is that the physical aspects of city planning are treated in balanced proportion with the social and economic aspects. There are chapters on (1) population, (2) economic development, and (3) the welfare, educational, health, recreational, and housing programs essential to every city. Then follows a treatment of (4) a ground plan for the community. The rôle of the social sciences in relation to architecture, landscape architecture,

and engineering in the increasingly important field of city planning may thus be seen in clearer perspective.

The monograph is published under the sponsorship of the American Municipal Association, the American Society of Planning Officials, and the International City Managers' Association. This tri-partite backing assures it wide attention and indicates that the volume is significant in revealing trends in city planning.

With community chests and councils of social agencies expanding in both scope and representation, and with city planning broadening to include the same community services which councils are attempting to coordinate, overlapping and conflict of interests appear inevitable. The last section on an official planning program as contrasted with citizen organization appears to be a description of what we have had in the past rather than a forward-looking suggestion for the future.

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

CITY DEVELOPMENT. By Lewis Mumford. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945. 248 pp. \$2.00.

Mumford's essays on urban disintegration and renewal are brought together in this little volume. They reveal the main threads of his thinking since 1922 as set forth in books and other writings. Here are a half dozen chapters on the city, the metropolitan milieu, mass-production and housing, a report on Honolulu, a critique of London's plan, and views on the social foundations of postwar building. His critical analysis of the new plan for London and his views on postwar building have not had prior publication in the United States. Too many passages invite quotation where an author knows his field as well as Mumford does. Illustrative of his biotechnic functional emphasis in an ugly mid-century—just one paraphrased sentence from the chapter on London: Ebenezer Howard's plan for decentralizing industry is technologically more feasible today than it was fifty years ago. History will some day list Mumford along with Howard and Geddes among others who worked for a new urban heaven while down underneath, as Geddes once put it, the great metropolis was an "excellent working model of hell."

LEE M. BROOKS

UNITED FOR FREEDOM. Edited by Leo R. Ward, C. S. C. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 264 pp. \$2.50.

Opening with a message of praise and prayer from Pope Pius XI for the Nova Scotia cooperatives, this symposium is the work of some fifteen contributors. The chapters, uneven in length and value, touch a wide range of subjects from the American college campus to Belgian farmers. Since the collaborators are for the most part Roman Catholics, this book would be a good one to include in a package gift to the misinformed, especially to those who glibly assert that cooperatives and communism are close kin. Cooperatives, for these writers, are more than an impractical dream; they are reality in terms of democratic principles whereby any people can get together for freedom.

LEE M. BROOKS

MARRIAGES OF JAPANESE-AMERICANS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY. By Leonard Bloom, Ruth Riemer, and Carol Creedon. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945. 23 pp. \$0.25

The authors of this brief study give a comprehensive statistical analysis of the Japanese-American marriages preceding and immediately following the outbreak of war. A 100 percent sample of marriage licenses filed in Los Angeles county by persons of Japanese ancestry for the periods May 1937 to December 1938 and January 1941 to October 1942, constitute the source of data. Out of the total of nine conclusions drawn, two may be noted: (1) the crises increased the number of marriages and (2) there is a reliable increase in homogamy with respect to age of marriage partners.

JITSUICHI MASUOKA

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY. By Arthur W. Calhoun. New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1945. 411 pp. \$7.50.

Students of the American family will welcome this new edition of Calhoun's history. The development of our family culture has nowhere else been traced with such completeness or with such attention to environmental influences. The new publication by bringing the three previous volumes into one has made the discussion more attractive to the reader. We now need the final volume bringing the evolution of the family up to the present time. All those interested in the American

family will be pleased to know that this study is in process.

ERNEST R. GROVES

WHAT IS CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE? By Arthur T. Macmillan. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1944. 141 pp. \$2.00.

Although *What is Christian Marriage?* is of special interest to English readers it is an important book for the American student of the history of marriage. In the colonial and formative period the institution of marriage in this country was greatly influenced by both the ecclesiastical background and the common law of England as they regulated marriage relationships. The book traces marriage among the primitive races, the ancient Jews, during Roman culture, the Christian era, after the Reformation and the development of the English Church. The student will be especially interested in Chapter Eight, the present position of marriage under English law, since it presents a clear and authoritative summary of the relationship between the teachings of the Church and the law, including the divorce legislation of 1937, and in Chapter Nine in which the author offers his suggestions as to the changes that should be made in the ecclesiastical program as it concerns marriage. The reviewer knows no other discussion of the ecclesiastical marriage system of England so useful for the American student as this book. It should be in the reference library of every college course in the family and marriage as a source book for the more serious students who wish historic insight in understanding the difference between English and American marriage systems. Students of domestic relations in our law schools will also find it a helpful book of reference. It has a carefully selected bibliography for those readers who wish to dig deeper into the teachings of the Church of England concerning marriage.

ERNEST R. GROVES

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT. By Mary Gray Peck. New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1944.

Carrie Chapman Catt is a revealing book. It records the history of the major portion of the feminist movement in the United States by giving us the life record of the woman who perhaps more than any other deserves to be thought of as the strategist. Since the interests and influences of Mrs. Catt went out in many directions the reader is carried beyond the struggle that gave women the right of suffrage and made to see the importance of

woman's contribution to national and international welfare especially in the effort to prevent war. The book impresses the reader also because of the promise of a movement that enlists such a leader as the well-balanced, practical-minded but forward-looking, statesman-like personality whose life history is the theme of the book.

ERNEST R. GROVES

OURSELVES UNBORN. By George W. Corner. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1944. 188 pp. \$3.00.

Ourselves Unborn is a book that belongs on the shelf of reserved books wherever marriage courses are taught. It will not gather dust once the students have discovered the wealth of information it contains. The book is built upon three discussions replete with scientific facts and references: One, the embryo as germ and as archive; two, prenatal fate and foreordination; and three, generality and particularity of man. These titles may seem forbidding to the undergraduate student in a class in marriage but not when he opens the book and is introduced to the facts concerning an important human experience of which he has had, as a rule, only the most vague of ideas, but which in this book are both interestingly and clearly interpreted.

ERNEST R. GROVES

THE PROBLEM TEACHER. By A. S. Neill. New York: International University Press, 1944. 161 pp. \$2.50.

The Problem Teacher is a book that a teacher picks up with a great deal of interest but reads with a growing distrust of the wisdom of its philosophy. Mr. Neill rebels against the status quo and all that it means in the kind of education and the kind of teachers that it produces. He scoffs at the restrictions of society, of religion, of the state, of training, of examinations, and of sex. He ridicules the teacher picturing her as dull, stupid, sex-starved, fearful of her dignity, inhuman, cruel, etc. He pleads for human beings free from fear, free from repressions, free from restraints of convention, free from "Might," free from insincerity, free to face and build a new civilization. Only those free to be such human beings, according to the author, can escape being "Problem Teachers."

HELEN L. MACON

HUMAN NATURE. THE MARXIAN VIEW. By Vernon Venable. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945. 217 pp. \$3.00.

The rôle of Soviet Russia in the present war has intensified interest in Marxist ideology. It is to be expected that students will direct their attention to specific problems of Marxian thought. The present book is a scholarly attempt to gather together the pronouncements of Marx and Engels on the subject of human nature. This is a difficult task which appears to be ably done.

The book is divided into two parts. The first deals with the fact of human change, while the second deals with the conditions and methods of that change. Man is viewed by Marx and Engels, according to Venable's interpretation, as an ever-changing entity. The change is the result of human labor upon man's environment through the agency of science. The book may be recommended to students of Marxian thought even if it would not appeal to lay readers.

LOUIS O. KATTSOFF

PRACTICAL MANAGEMENT RESEARCH. By Alexis R. Wiren and Carl Heyel. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1945. 222 pp. \$3.00.

Although, as the authors state, "this book discusses the use of scientific research techniques in business," it contains much that is applicable to management in other types of organizations and agencies. The thesis that organization, planning, and policy-making should be developed only on the basis of continual research and study is as fundamental in a social agency, for example, as it is in any business or industrial organization. Naturally, much of the book is directed specifically toward the management of business concerns, but such chapters as Pointers on Making Internal Management Studies, Studying Something that Went Wrong, Making a General Management Survey, can be read with profit by any administrator or manager and adapted to his particular needs. On the whole, the language is nontechnical and reads easily.

K. J.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

MY AMERICAN ADVENTURE. By Erna Barschak. New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1946. 248 pp. \$2.75.

FRANCISCAN EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER IN SPANISH NORTH AMERICA (1502-1821). By Pius Joseph Barth. Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the division of the social sciences in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1945. 431 pp.

CONTEMPORARY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS. By Herman

Beukema, William M. Geer and Associates. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1946. 362 pp. \$3.50.

GOD MADE THE COUNTRY. By Edward Townsend Booth. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. 330 pp. \$2.50.

AMERICA IS IN THE HEART. A Personal History. By Carlos Bulosan. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946. 325 pp. \$3.00.

CHALLENGE TO COMMUNITY ACTION. Washington, D. C.: Social Protection Division, Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency, 1945. 76 pp.

AFRICA ADVANCING. A Study of Rural Education and Agriculture in West Africa and the Belgian Congo. By Jackson Davis, Thomas M. Campbell, and Margaret Wrong. New York: The Friendship Press, 1945. 230 pp.

THE ECONOMIC MIND IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION (1606-1865). 2 vols. By Joseph Dorfman. New York: The Viking Press, 1946. lv. 987 pp. \$7.50.

PLANNING FOR JOBS. By Lyle Fitch and Horace Taylor. Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1946. 463 pp. \$3.75.

THE BILL OF SOCIAL RIGHTS. By Georges Gurvitch. New York: International Universities Press, 1946. 152 pp. \$2.00.

FROM DEMOCRACY TO NAZISM. A Regional Case Study on Political Parties in Germany. By Rudolf Heberle. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945. 130 pp. \$2.50.

MANIFESTO FOR THE ATOMIC AGE. By Virgil Jordan. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1946. 70 pp. \$1.50.

NEW CITIES FOR OLD. City Building in Terms of Space, Time, and Money. By Louis Justement. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1946. 232 pp. \$4.50. (Illus.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDONESIAN PEOPLES AND CULTURES. By Raymond Kennedy. Yale Anthropological Studies, Volume 4. New Haven: Yale University Press and London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1945. 212 pp. \$2.50.

THE RIVER ROAD. By Frances Parkinson Keyes. New York: Julian Messner, Inc. 765 pp. \$3.00.

AVIATION TRANSPORT. By Elvin R. Latty, acting editor. Durham, North Carolina: School of Law, Duke University, 1946. 630 pp. \$1.00. (Vol. XI, No. 3 of *Law and Contemporary Problems*. Subscription price, \$2.50 per volume.)

STONE WALLS AND MEN. A Modern Criminology. By Robert M. Lindner. New York: Odyssey Press, Inc., 1946. 496 pp. \$4.00.

FIELD WORK IN COLLEGE EDUCATION. By Helen Merrell Lynd. (Sarah Lawrence College Publications: Number 5). New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 302 pp. \$2.75.

WARRIORS WITHOUT WEAPONS. A Study of the Society and Personality Development of the Pine Ridge Sioux. By Gordon Macgregor, with the collabora-

- tion of Royal B. Hassrick and William E. Henry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. 228 pp. \$3.75.
- GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By Shelby T. McCloy. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1946. 496 pp. \$6.00.
- ECONOMIC DEMOGRAPHY OF EASTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE. By Wilbert E. Moore. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. (International Documents Service). 299 pp. \$3.00.
- KOREA AND THE OLD ORDERS IN EASTERN ASIA. By M. Frederick Nelson. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945. 326 pp. \$3.75.
- STATE PROGRAMS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHER EDUCATION. By Charles E. Prall. Prepared for the Commission on Teacher Education. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1946. 379 pp. \$3.00.
- PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. Selected Papers Seventy-second Annual Meeting 1945. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 407 pp. \$5.00.
- LAW TRAINING IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE. Its Principles and Public Function. By Eric F. Schweinburg. Public Service and Law-School Training Series. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1945. 129 pp. \$1.00.
- PROPAGANDA, COMMUNICATION, AND PUBLIC OPINION. By Bruce Lannes Smith, Harold D. Lasswell and Ralph D. Casey. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1946. 435 pp. \$5.00.
- BRAZIL: PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS. By T. Lynn Smith. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. 843 pp. \$6.50.
- STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Seventeenth Issue. 1942-44. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 315 pp. \$3.50.
- FAMILY HEALTH. By Jennie Williams. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1945. 561 pp. \$3.50.
- SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE OF NEGRO CHILDREN. By Marechal-Neil E. Young. (A dissertation in sociology, presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1944. 95 pp.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The first regular annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society since 1941 was held at San Jose, California, on April 19 and 20. Last year the membership of the Society decided overwhelmingly to change the date of the annual meeting from the Christmas holidays to the spring of the year to avoid any conflict with the meeting date of the American Sociological Society. The *Proceedings* are being published by the Washington State College Press.

Elon E. Moore, chairman of the nominating committee, announced that the following persons received the largest number of votes for the respective offices in the recent election: *President*: Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington; *Vice Presidents*: Northern Division—C. W. Topping, University of British Columbia; Central Division—Audrey K. James, Mills College; Southern Division—Leonard Bloom, University of California at Los Angeles; *Secretary-Treasurer*: Virginia J. Esterley, Scripps College; *Members of the Advisory Council*: Hubert Phillips, Fresno State College; Fred Yoder, State College of Washington.

OHIO VALLEY SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Members of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society were guests of the Department of Sociology at Ohio State University when they held their annual meeting on April 26-27, 1946. This was the first meeting of the Society in two years. In addition to the business meeting, five sessions were featured. At the annual dinner, Lloyd Allen Cook, Wayne University, gave the presidential address on Aspects of the Experimental Eight-College Study.

SOCIOLOGY CLUB OF PITTSBURGH

The Sociology Club of Pittsburgh, now in its fourth year, elected the following officers: Joseph Homer, Juvenile Court, President; Joseph H. Bunzel, Housing Association, Vice President (Program); Gladys Walker White, Secretary-Treasurer. These together with the past presidents form the executive board: Verne Wright, University of Pittsburgh (Membership); Maurice Moss, Urban League (Public Relations); and Edward Montgomery, Pennsylvania College for Women.

The Club plans a series of meetings centering around the topic of Social Policy and Social Organization. Guests are always welcome and sociologists coming from Pittsburgh might like to contact any of the above individuals or the Secretary: 19 Scenery Road, Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania.

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